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The Pattern of Persecution

Joseph S. Brusher, S. J., M. A.

St. Louis University

HE idea of this essay is borrowed from Mr. Crane Brinton's thought-provoking book, The Anatomy of Revolution. Just as he tried to reduce revolution to its common denominator by studying it in its English, American, French and Russian manifestations, so I shall attempt, with what success the reader may judge, to discover a common pattern of persecution by considering it at work in four revolutions: the French, Mexican, Russian and German. While it is true that revolution and persecution are not synonymous, most modern revolutions have been accompanied by bitter attacks on Christianity. The course followed by these persecutions is similar enough to afford some justification for this attempt to portray a pattern or design to which all more or less conform.

The opening of the revolution sees no persecution in fact there is usually a period in which there is hope that religion will do better under the revolutionary regime than before or at least as well. This period ends with the revolution beginning to display open hostility to religion, and there ensues a period of bloodless or practically bloodless persecution. The drive against religion gradually intensifies until a really violent persecution is in full swing. Then follows a momentary reaction which causes hope to arise that the persecution is about to cease. This is a false hope, and the persecution continues to rage. In the only one of the four revolutions which may be considered as having reached a term-i. e. the French-the persecution finally ends and religion is able to go about the work of reconstruction in comparative peace.

1 C. Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, New York, Norton, 1938 False Hopes

In the revolution which is our proto-type, the great French Revolution, there was little or no persecution at the outset. The lower clergy indeed were enthusiastic for the revolutionary innovations, and it was not until November 1789 that the first overt act against the Church took place, when after a stormy session the Constituent Assembly decreed the confiscation of church property. Even this, though unjust, was not an act of persecution, as the state was to provide for the maintenance of the clergy.

In the Mexican revolution which I take as opening with Madero's move against Diaz in 1910, the opening stage was even more propitious. Porfirio Diaz had indeed allowed the Church to exist without actual strangulation, but he kept the garrote around her neck in the laws of the "Reform."2 Under the iron rule of Dictator Diaz the Catholics of Mexico were helpless. But revolutionist Francisco Madero was that remarkable phenomenon — a liberal who believed in liberty. He gave Mexico the first free election which that bedevilled country had enjoyed for years, and he gave the Catholics an opportunity to agitate for the repeal of the "reform" laws. But alas for good intentions! So well did the Catholics do in a free election that Madero's liberal henchmen, repenting of their momentary weakness, hastened to annul the election of sixty out of the ninety Catholic deputies chosen by the people. Madero, however, took no measures against the Church. Thus the opening of the Mexican revolution like that of the French, saw little or no persecution.

² For examples of these laws see Zaccaria Giacometti, Quellen zur Geschicte der Trennung von Staat und Kirche, Tuebingen, 1926, 428, 429

In Russia we find the same situation. When Czar Nicholas was overthrown on March 15, 1917 the outlook for religion grew distinctly brighter. The Russian state Church was freed from the stifling embrace of Czarism, and the Catholic Church was liberated from the intermittent persecution and permanent hostility of the Imperial government. The Orthodox hastened to hold a long-desired national synod. The Patriarchate was re-established and Msgr. Tikhon Belavin, Moscow Metropolitan, was elected Patriarch. The Catholics, for their part, cherished hopes that with official pressure removed the Russian Church might move towards Rome. Thus the first months of the Russian Revolution were likewise free from persecution.

When President Paul Von Hindenburg called Hitler to power in 1933 the Nazi revolution swung into high gear. The Church, however, was not immediately attacked. The suave Von Papen hied himself Romewards to proffer an olive branch to the Pope and to reassure the alarmed Cardinals of the Fuerher's sincerity. The resulting Concordat, while disarming the last Catholic political opposition to the Nazis, was quite acceptable. The Church, it would seem, was to be allowed to live in the new Germany. Thus in the beginning all of our revolutions have a common denominator — a false hope for religious peace.

Disillusionment

Disillusionment followed fast on the heels of hope in the French Revolution, for in the July of 1790 the Constituent Assembly drove a wedge between the Church and the Revolution which was to change the face of history. On that ill-omened twelfth of July was passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. This Gallicano-Jansenist tinkering with the Church might be amusing if its results had not been so bitterly sad. The Civil Constitution tore a rent not only between Catholics and Constitutionals but between Catholics and the Revolution. Henceforward the Revolution is to become increasingly anti-Catholic; henceforward churchmen are to be driven into opposition to the Revolution. This state of tension was of course, a fruitful source of persecution.

On November 27, 1790 the Assembly demanded an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy from all pastors, an oath which the conscientious could not take. Even Revellière Lépeaux, anti-Christian fanatic that he was, admitted that this was a mistake.3 Henceforth the clergy are divided into jurors and nonjurors from the political viewpoint, and Catholics and schismatics from the religious viewpoint. Only four bishops took the oath but roughly nearly half the clergy yielded. The good Catholics followed the non-jurors and had only contempt for the constitutionals. When the Pope, after some delay, condemned the Civil Constitution a number of those who had taken the oath retracted. Resentment against the non-jurors rose rapidly and already in 1791 attacks were made on Churches and convents. This phase is noteworthy for the attempt to create a schism, and this attempt we find in our other revolutions also.

Hall, 1939, 424

In Mexico the Calles government, wishing to outflank the courageous resistance of the Mexican Catholics, set up a national church. In this church priests would marry, would enjoy state favor, would be taken care of financially. To the eternal credit of the much-maligned Mexican clergy the most imposing thing about this oddlyfathered organization was its name: La Iglesia Catolica Apostolica Mejicana! The weaving of this strand in the pattern of persecution is slightly different as the schism attempt came not as a prelude to persecution, but as a result of it. Perhaps the closer analogue to the French Civil Constitution is the Constitution of 1917, a military document never ratified by the people. This "camp pronouncement" as Evelyn Waugh calls it, contains many harsh anti-Catholic provisions.4

In Russia persecution followed the overthrow of the Kerensky government by the Bolsheviks. John Reed's ten days that shook the world were to shake religion to its foundations in Russia. Scarcely had the rattle of rifle fire died away in the streets of Petrograd when the communists began to strike at religion. As early as December 4, 1917 all ecclesiastical property was confiscated and on January 23, 1918 the Council of Peoples' Commissars decreed the separation of Church and state, abolition of all official religious ceremonies and of the religious oath, and separation of Church and school. In no school, public or private, could religious instruction be given. Finally the decree of January 23, 1918 denied to the Church or to any other religious society the rights of a juridical person.5

In Russia, too, the enemies of religion tried to start a schism. The Patriarch Tikhon, a courageous man, and altogether too independent to suit the Reds, was imprisoned in a monastery on May 5, 1922. Unable to fulfill his pastoral duties, he appointed Msgr. Agathangel. Metropolitan of Yaroslavl, as his Vicar. Two "Christian Communist" priests after paying a visit to the Patriarch, announced that he had resigned his see, and formed a Higher Church Administration. Msgr. Agathangel, rightly suspicious, refused to have any part in it and was forced to travel the weary road to Siberia. The Schism continues to this day, the rebels against the authority of the Patriarch forming a group called The Church of the Renewal.6

In Germany the hope for religious peace created by the Concordat was extremely short-lived. If ever Catholics had trusted in Hitler's word they were to be speedily disillusioned. The Concordat was to prove as valuable to the German Catholics as the non-aggression pact Germany had signed with Poland was to that tortured country - as valuable as Hilter's assurances of friendship to Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, and the Balkan nations. The German persecution will not follow quite the same pattern as the others. The first common factor, however is present, the attempt to disrupt the Church by fomenting a schism. There was a half-hearted effort to galvanize into life the doddering Old Catholic movement and to start a national church independent from Rome. But the Old Catholic Church, a dreary affair at its very birth, was far too dead to

³ Georgia Robison, Revellière Lépeaux, citizen director, New York, Norton, 1938, 71

4 Evelyn Waugh, Robbery Under Law, London, Chapman and

Giacometti, Quellen, 424
 Donald Attwater, The Dissident Eastern Churches, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1937, 85-86

The Jesuits and Liberalism a Century Ago

Raymond Corrigan, S. J., Ph. D.

St. Louis University

NE hundred years ago, at the beginning of 1840, some three thousand Jesuits were reading a circular letter from their General, Father John Roothan. The letter had been written to commemorate the Tercentennial of the Society of Jesus. In it there was little to remind one of the jubilation which had marked the end of the first or of the second century of sweeping triumphant achievement. Back in 1640, Jean Bollandus had published his Imago Primi Seculi, a thousand folio pages of poetry, pulpit rhetoric and historical narrative. The volume is an unrelieved panegyric, and was intended to be such. The picture it presents is overdrawn; its language is, if you will, slightly bombastic. In 1740, there was a like feeling of elation throughout the ever-expanding, onward-marching Company of Loyola. But Father Roothan's reflections were cast in a minor key. The third century of Jesuit life had been one of defeat, disaster, and near destruction.

The "mighty temple" reared by heroic zeal, majestic, imposing, and apparently secure in its dedication to the glory of God, the salvation of souls and public wellbeing, had been shattered. The banishment of the Society by Catholic kings and its suppression by papal decree should make it clear, wrote the General, "that neither the reputation for learning and virtue, nor success, nor undying services and the favor of powerful men could sustain a human work. . . . God would teach us to put our trust in Him alone." The letter was an exhortation to humility, but its author found consolation in the thought that the Society's innocence had been fully vindicated. The Jesuits had been sacrificed to hostile forces whose real object of attack was the Church of Christ. They had been driven out as enemies of the state, and their departure was but a prelude to the crash of Bourbon thrones. Through wholesale confiscation of archives "the most private affairs and the inner workings [of the Society] had been laid open to hostile eyes," and Jesuit intrigue was proved non-existent. On the other hand, the public exulting of those who hated the Society had revealed a dark conspiracy against state and Church. The victims might rejoice in the perennial privilege of following their Divine Master. For the rest, the jubilee thoughts of Father Roothan are the usual commonplaces: gratitude to God, courage and confidence, prayer and untiring zeal for souls. Here, we submit, is the authentic, if not very thrilling, portrait of the Jesuits in any age. Father Roothan is a likely candidate for canonization. But what he wrote might have been written by any one of a score of generals before or after him. From 1540 to 1940 the variations are purely accidental. On these partial premises there would seem to be no reason for a quarrel with honest men.

But Liberals who knew enough about the Jesuits to hate them did not read the letters of their generals. More likely, they drew directly or by devious channels from the muddy sources of Jesuit legend. Precisely one hundred years ago Macaulay gave to English readers his first version of that legend. From the facile Mr. Macaulay, whose immense erudition embraces realms beyond the bounds of known or knowable fact, one may quote striking passages for or against the Jesuits. Their fall, he tells us, was "the first warning stroke" of the great French Revolution. And he hints at the reasons why the liberal sons of those who made the Revolution would be their enemies in 1840.

Two hundred priests scattered over twenty dioceses constituted the sum total of active Jesuit strength in the France of a century ago. A few were able men. Père de Ravignan towering above them all. The rest were engaged in the hard and humble tasks of a zealous French clergy. In no sense were they a political force: in no sense were they a danger to the state. They had no wealth, though they did have devoted and influential friends. They did not dominate the clergy, much less the bishops of France. Yet their enemies knew that the removal of artificial barriers would be followed by their rapid expansion. The demand for their services was such that several times their number could have found immediate employment. Of those who hated them, the more ignorant and gullible were living in the legendary past; the more far-sighted were looking into the future. At the time itself, the Jesuits of France had little power and they displayed no aggressive instinct. They were at peace with all the world and, specifically, they accepted without reserve the fundamental law of the land. All they asked was the freedom guaranteed by the Charter of 1830. And even here their voice was scarcely audible. But they trailed three centuries of calumny; they had been expelled from France on several occasions; and according to the obsolete decrees of the Old Régime, of the Revolution and the Bourbon Restoration, they were outlaws. Those who resented or feared the revival of Catholic life had abundant material with which to dress up a scarecrow to alarm the uncritical populace.

A hundred years ago, "Liberalism" was a youthful, dynamic, but floating and elusive something in the France of Louis Philippe. The liberal idea, liberal doctrines, economic as well as political, liberal statesmen, liberal business men and journalists, all of these existed in the liberal July Monarchy. But it is much easier to discern half a dozen varieties of liberalism, each defined by reference to the particular kind of restraint from which it would be free, than it is to put one's finger on anything positive and say that is Liberalism. Certainly, we have here no such definite, tangible group as were the Jesuits. The hybrid government of the Citizen King, born of a reaction against the Bourbon Restoration, and resting, as it did, upon the restricted suffrage of the well-to-do, was perhaps closer to the great Revolution

¹ This paper was read at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association held in New York on December 29, 1940. The decision to print it in the HISTORICAL BULLETIN came too late to allow time for copious footnoting.

than to the Old Régime. But it was determined to keep at a safe distance both the radical proletarian elements who had manned the barricades in 1830, and the still surviving legitimists. Political wisdom was summed up in the policy of the juste milieu. For the discontented, there was the practical slogan: Enrichissez vous. On the surface all was peace, with the comfortable bourgeoisie attending to business and the colorless king intent only upon clinging to his throne. True, "the nation was bored," as Lamartine remarked, but the casual observer will hardly discover in the flow of events up to 1840, the promise or the threat of a bitter struggle ahead. Nor would the casual observer of that date have seen in liberalism anything beyond a comfortable, harmless, and not altogether unlikable bourgeois creed. Its prosaic principles hardly provided grounds for a quarrel with men who had no direct interest either in high politics or in the business of getting rich, and who claimed only the constitutional rights of all French citizens.

Cause of Conflict

But under the protecting wing of the liberal state huddled an educational system that displayed all the marks of a petty despotism. Back in 1808, the University had been re-created by Napoleon, then at the height of his imperial ambitions, to serve autocratic ends. Like its imperial patron, it held a truly Napoleonic sway over the schools of the nation. Except for a tolerated and restricted immunity granted to episcopal seminaries, the long arm of the University reached into the farthest corners of France. All schools had to obtain its permission in order to exist, submit to its arbitrary supervision, and pay a nominal "tribut d'allégiance." All teachers had to pass examinations set by the University, and the bachelor's degree was awarded only to students presented by approved schools. Much of this has a modern ring, but it was out of place in a free country, and it could be used, as it was originally intended to be used, as an instrument of tyranny. The Bourbons had taken over the whole system, naturally without consulting the wishes of their liberal-minded subjects. But the framers of the Charter of 1830 saw the inconsistency, and in paragraph eight of article 69 of that document they listed explicitly among the grievances that should "be provided for within the shortest possible space of time: . . . Public instruction and the liberty of teaching." Three years later, a measure of freedom was accorded to schools on the primary level by the Loi Guizot. Thirteen years later, Alexis de Tocqueville ascribed to the university monopoly an internal condition of "philosophical and religious war." When freedom for secondary education was finally won in 1850 by the Loi Falloux, the "Liberal Monarchy" was only a memory.

The privileged University was, as a matter of fact, an overgrown, unwanted servant of the July Monarchy. In October, 1840, Guizot tells us "the Cabinet seriously desired to fulfill the promise of the Charter." A few months later he deprecates the standing insincerity, the repeated attempts at subterfuge in the matter of reform. All through his *Mémoires* he gives expression to elevated thoughts on education which any Catholic could applaud. In 1833 he had made the first breach in the monopoly. In 1836 he tried to do for secondary education what he had already done for primary education. But in "liberal"

France he was powerless against the entrenched University, and as time went on he seems to have become more and more fearful of stirring up radical opposition to the shaky throne of his king.

A hundred years ago, the memory of a Catholic venture in Liberalism was still fresh. Ten years earlier. an ardent and aggressive group of young Frenchmen under the leadership of Félicité de Lamennais had tried to meet the modern world halfway. With a slogan: "For God and Liberty," and a program which demanded "toutes les libertés pour tous," they had urged that the Church break loose from the régime of privilege and of slavery and take her stand on the liberties assured in the Charter of 1830. The teaching of Lamennais ran counter to vested interests within the French Church, but it was the fundamental errors in his philosophy that made papal approval impossible and ultimately led to his condemnation. Out of the movement came two crusaders for liberty who were willing to meet the critics of the Church on their own ground. Montalembert in the House of Peers and Lacordaire in his more spiritual activities won the admiration of sane men generally. Montalembert was an honest fighter in a just cause, and if his liberal opponents had had a sincere love of liberty, there was no valid assignable reason why an agreement could not have been reached.

Paradoxically, the Catholic Liberals were demanding for the Catholic majority in France the kind of liberties enjoyed by Catholic minorities in England and in the United States. Into their program they had written the very reasonable objective, "la liberté comme en Belgique." And for Montalembert himself Daniel O'Connell, with his forceful but always scrupulous legal and constitutional agitation, was a model and an inspiration. The experience of ten years had taught Montalembert the imperative need of collaboration with the bishops. It had also taught him the tactical value of concentrating on a single definite point, freedom of teaching. In July, 1840, Frédéric Ozanam, whose saintly character, high scholarship and deeds of charity were sufficient credentials for any cause, saw the movement "encouraged by the patronage of a renewed episcopacy and beginning to carry with it the destinies of the country." In 1840 the Catholics were satisfied with the progress they were making. On the other hand the "mandarins" of the University were extremely uneasy, and their uneasiness betrayed a lack of confidence in the strength of their quite illiberal position.

Before we trace the course of the battle, it may be well, even at the risk of further revealing what must look like a biassed stand on the part of the writer, to define a term or two and to elucidate a few essential facts that do not lie on the surface of things. Our topic is "Liberalism and the Jesuits a Century Ago." Everybody knows what Liberalism is, and yet the continually changing concept defies accurate and simple definition. Metaphorically, it is a label that may be slapped on to a bottle containing anything from an elixir of life to deadly poison. Everybody here knows something about the Jesuits. But the Jesuitism of a century ago was a phantom conjured up out of many generations of bad history by more or less dishonest pamphleteers. It was

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EDITORIALS

The Genesis of Hitlerism

No one will deny Hitler a place in the history books of the future. He has been making history as it has rarely been made heretofore. And the rest of us have never had better reason for reviewing the historical forces that culminated logically in Nazi madness. Even those who like intense excitement will hardly approve his demoniac efforts. An optimist can, no doubt, see a gleam of hope for a better world after the mighty katharsis. And any freshman can grasp the negative advantage that lies in the discrediting of much of the fuzzy philsophy that has been preached pontifically during the past few bewildered generations. For, not since the Crusades has there been a battle for ideals and principles quite comparable to our greatest of all wars. And the world is so conscious of the issues at stake that the wholesale carnage and destruction of property are less appalling than they might otherwise be. If depths of evil are being revealed, there is consolation in the fact that an aroused humanity may be forced to do something about the mass of evil thought and conduct that have prepared the revelation. Nazi insanity did not drop into Europe from another planet. Nor was all the poison generated in Germany alone. Infected winds have been blowing across every border, from England and France, from Russia and our own America.

It is merely an accident that this editorial is being typed after the reading, and rereading, of one of the best books on political theory that we have seen. After a passing salute to the false dawn of Democracy, the author turns back through four hundred years and combs the muddy and tangled verbiage of pseudo-philosophers who have led a bleary-eyed world astray. His central theme is the totalitarian tradition, set over against the "Liberal" view of life. Sociology, psychology, science and philosophy of a sort, all went into the strange aberration. By contrast the Liberal Weltanschauung looks reasonable. But apart from its pedagogical value, the contrast can be deceptive and fatally misleading. As a matter of fact, the surface conflict serves only to veil

more fundamental disorders which are common to both currents of thought and feeling. Liberal and totalitarian are equally, or almost equally, in revolt against objective truth and the moral law. Both have wandered, more or less deliberately, from the great highway of common sense to labor feverishly on utterly false conceptions of man and nature and a universe without God. A book which reveals flashes of light in the darkness can be helpful, but it does not tell the whole story.

Totalitarian versus Liberal

Each of the rival systems has two component elements. In the analysis of Doctor McGovern the Liberal stands for Democracy and Individualism; Fascism is a compound of Autocracy and Etatism. None of these terms is synonymous with any of the others. And the things they signify may be found scrambled in varying proportions. A mésalliance between democracy and the omnicompetent state is possible, as is also a regime in which a dictator might allow much individual freedom. But on the whole, there exists a natural affinity between individualism and democracy, while etatism mates best with authoritarian despotism. In the latter case the state is "all" and the citizen is reduced to a political zero; you have strong government at the top, by "divine right" it may be, and a goose-stepping people at the bottom. In the liberal paradise you have popular sovereignty, government by consent, majority rule and the right of revolution; you have also, at least theoretically, a wide liberty of thought, speech and assembly, of occupation, money-making and irreligion. The state is a means to an end, — when it is not a mere shadow, useful on occasion to autonomous man.

It would be ungracious to hint that the liberal may be intolerant, that along the meandering course of liberal theory there is strewn much absurdity, that anarchy and disaster are avoided often enough only by lack of logic. And for those of us who are four-square against the Nazi monster it may be imprudent to insist that the state, even the strong state, is a natural institution clothed with divine power, and that authority, even when it appears despotic, may work benevolently for the best interests of the whole body politic. In the Christian scheme of

¹ From Luther to Hitler: the History of Fascist-Nazi Philosophy, by William Montgomery McGovern. Boston. Houghton Mifflin. pp. xiv + 683. \$4.00

things, in the world as God intended it to be, there is room for efficient government and ultimate popular control, for a strong state and the inalienable rights of the individual citizen. Contrasts serve to clarify thought. But the obvious fact that Hitler is wrong, satanically wrong, does not make every or any opposing system right or sound or holy. Final victory will not prove anything in metaphysics or morals. But the light that is born of a desperate effort to save civilization, and the sobering effects of great sacrifice should aid toward a sincere examination of society's conscience, an act of contrition and a firm purpose of amendment. Europe as a whole has worshipped at too many of the unhallowed shrines from which Hitler has drawn his inspiration. A secularized Christendom has been too long saturated with low-brow pragmatism, sentimental humanism and social atheism. Nazi paganism, full-grown and hideous, has to be crushed. But the revulsion of feeling should leave us conscious of our own sins and eager to get back to justice and charity, to the moral law and divine truth. We abhor Hitler, but we have been toying with the forces, often seemingly harmless, that have made his coming possible, not to say inevitable.

The Pillars of Hitlerism

After cutting away and sorting out a vast deal of supporting rubbish, Doctor McGovern discerns four substantial pillars of the Nazi-Fascist philosophy. (We should prefer some such metaphor as four poisonous streams oozing their murky contents into a dead sea.) These pillars are Traditionalism and Idealism, Irrationalism and Social Darwinism. The first pair are to the fore in Mussolini's towering façade; in Hitler's more massive structure they recede from view, dwarfed by the Führer's cult of Blut und Boden. If the Nazi is still a Nationalist, tradition and spiritual ideals must, of course, be vitally important factors. In fact, tradition is a potent aid in any advancing culture. England's dogged strength in her present ordeal is largely conditioned by her loyalty to her long past. And even here in America there is bound to be trouble if we fail to recover from a near-treason to our own healthy origins. In any case, with the blustering Duce fallen to the level of a minor nuisance and his independent power for good or evil curtailed by the bad company he keeps, we can afford to concentrate on the dominant features of the more dynamic Nazis. Hitler's barnyard eugenics and his flight from reason are eloquent examples of a double folly that infects both academic circles and noisy propaganda in "liberal" America.

And so, we may prescind from many a proud name in the imposing spiritual ancestry of the Nazis. Simple as it would be to trace the lines of Nationalism back through an array of false prophets who made a fetish of the nation and deified more or less explicitly the absolute state, it would be simpler still to take off from the idea of Socialism and point out the borrowings of Brown Bolshevism from its Soviet cousin. We can also overlook, for the moment, the appeal of an iron Prussianism for a frustrated Austrian dreamer, as well as a nominal Catholic's easy descent into paganism. Hitler thinks with his blood; for his ideal Nordic he knows no law but that of the jungle; the "creed, code and cult"

of his new religion are centered in the glorification of his master race. Instinct outweighs intellect, and biology supplants theology.

Social Darwinism

Social Darwinism was the interpretation of society in terms of scientific evolution. From biology the struggle for existence was transferred to the field of social life. Natural selection could become artificial selection, and the survival of the fittest could be made the survival of the best. If the law of life was: kill or be killed, society should find means of eliminating the unfit. Darwin did not foresee nor intend the later application of his principles. Neither did the Darwinians. But Herbert Spencer, Walter Bagehot and Ludwig Gumplovicz, two Englishmen and a Polish Jew, each contributed his bit of scientific jargon to the Nazi glossary. Gumplovicz, for example, taught that the state is born of conquest. and that it must be ruled by the best people. He taught, also, that morality is mere tribal custom, that law is merely the will of the strong, that justice is self-interest, that liberty and equality are myths. Then came the eugenists, Francis Galton and Karl Pearson, to urge the use of science for the salvation of the superior classes, who inevitably rise to the top and just as inevitably fail to perpetuate themselves. And finally, Arthur de Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain spread the doctrine of the master race. Gobineau, the Frenchman, found the Germans degenerate, while the pick of the Aryans lived in England and America. But the Germans shifted his terms and adopted his gospel. Chamberlain, the Englishman, had a word of qualified praise for the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans, but hailed nature's masterpiece in the modern Teuton. And now Hitler takes over all this theory, reduces it to high-tension practice and declares that he works "in the sense of the Almighty Creator" for the master race that shall rule for thousands of years.

Irrationalism

Young Germany is schooled in the Nazi Primer. Its purpose is to train future leaders, efficient, ruthless, arrogant. Employing the best technique of modern advertising and the approved principles of mob psychology, it aims to develop a herd instinct, a one-track mind. a complete self-immolation. Its method is purely pragmatic. A survey of the Mendelian Laws, a graphic map study and a judicious picking of historical half-truths provide the youngster with useful knowledge and a right attitude. This is Social Darwinism applied; it is also in line with Nazi Irrationalism. Reason, so much overrated in the Liberal era, is abandoned for feeling, intuition, passion. There was plenty of this nonsense homegrown in the German past. From Luther down through Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Treizschke and a dozen minor figures to Nietzsche religious reformers, idealist philosophers and nationalist historians had preached a gospel of emotion, action and blind willpower. But here again it was easy to supplement the German heritage by importation. And Hitler can argue convincingly on premises partly concealed in the brilliant fallacies of William James, William McDougall, Henri Bergson, Vilfredo Pareto and Georges Sorel.

(Please turn to Page 12)

The Religious Upheaval; Catholic Culpability

Peter M. Dunne, S. J., Ph. D.

University of San Francisco

HE causes of the Protestant Revolt again! Reconsideration can be profitable; recent books have stirred our interest; the revolution will be continuously of special concern to Catholics; present world convulsions rose originally from the soil it created. It is important to understand the causes of the movement and to be frank concerning them. In these days all believers should understand each other. Candor leads to understanding. But so high strung were the emotions generated by the Reformation that after four centuries historians are sometimes moved by something more than reason and passionless objective science. For three hundred years scholars would "find their eyes blurred by the ancient fury and dip their pens in bile." During this last hundred there has been clearer vision, and pens have oftener been dipped in truth. Time has salved the old anger while aged documents, come to light or better known, have preserved specific truth like jewels in amber. It is because the sources proclaim it loudly that latter day historians of worth are pretty well agreed that the fundamental factor at the bottom of the Protestant Revolt was the serious decline in the prestige of the Church and its head, the Papacy, brought about by conditions within the organization.

It was this unprecedented "low" of papal prestige caused by weakness and corruption within the organism, most first rank Catholic historians think, that made the Protestant Revolt in Germany and in England a possibility; this, they consider, was the sine qua non of the beginnings of the revolt in Germany and the factor without which England could not have been

severed from the unity of Rome.

To clarify our thinking it might be well to make a distinction of time between the first outbreak of religious rebellion early in the sixteenth century and its ultimate success (the permanence of separation) in the succeeding century. In many of the following quotations of Catholic historians it is the first outbreaking of rebellion which is envisaged. It is quite clear that ultimate success could not in most cases have been assured without the aid of princes, just as it was such aid which furnished the Counter-Reformation* with an important factor in its success. But unlike a similar situation in the United States, where the North succeeded in forcing the South back into the Union, the Counter-Reformation did not succeed in regaining all the lost provinces. Princes and prime ministers prevented this.

Another reflection may help our understanding of the quotations to be given below: financial, political and national causes of the revolt were often rendered effective by conditions within the Church and by the policies of the Papacy. For instance, if Church property in Germany had been in holier hands and if it had been more holily administered, then, it seems safe to say, the secular princes would not have endeavored, or at least would not have succeeded in their endeavor, to enhance their position at the expense of Church property by supporting the Reformation. Their own activated greed and their own disrespect for the established religion seem to have been effects of the evil condition of the Church. It is for this reason that, when some few historians have said that the Reformation was the consequence of a political and national rather than of a religious movement, there is not excluded the fundamental factor of the condition of the Church acting as a supporting basis for the operation of other causes.

To begin with the illustrious name of Dr. Lingard. With reference to the condition of the Church in Scotland and as a preface to a description of the sad abuses therein existing, he says: "Of all the European churches there was not one perhaps better prepared to receive the seed of the new gospel than that of Scotland."1 Baron de Hübner writing of the Counter-Reformation says: "To stop the progress of Protestantism, to reform the Church and thus to save it: these were the objects of the reactionary movement and the motives that impelled those who guided its course."2 And then again: "Throwing aside all consideration in respect of person or position, the Popes then headed the reaction, brought to a satisfactory conclusion the business of the council. insured the execution of its decrees, and, in a word, saved the Church which had been so near its ruin."3

No less an authority than Ludwig von Pastor considered that the Reformation succeeded in Germany because of the unworthy character of German ecclesiastics. He said in a monograph written in 1876 on Albrecht von Brandenburg's part in the religious revolution: "We can see what the consequences of the bad example of these bishops were. It proves that the Reformation succeeded where the bishops apostatized, and it failed where they remained firm, for the bishops are the columns of the Church."4 And this same Pastor again avers in his History of the Popes: "The most clear-sighted men of the time agreed in blaming the calamities of the time on the clergy, on their love of money and temporal goods, in a word, on their great egoism."5 Lord Acton, in an article printed in 1887 in the English Historical Review on Bishop Creighton's History of the Popes, agreed with Creighton in making the policy of the Renaissance Popes responsible for the outbreak of the Protestant Revolt. Lord Acton expresses this same opinion, though with an inaccuracy born of emotion, in the North British Review for January, 1871, as follows: "The strain which his [Alexander VI's] policy as an Italian sovereign laid on his power in the Church was fruitful of consequences in the next generation and for all future time. . . . The system which Luther assailed was the system which Alexander VI had completed and bequeathed to his successors."

² Memoir of Pope Sixtus V (1872), I, 57 ³ Ibid., I, 74

⁴ Quoted in Msgr. Peter Guilday, Church Historians (1926),

³⁵⁹ 5 History of the Popes (1899), I, 161

^{* [}The futility of the "Counter-Reformation" should not obscure the very gratifying "Catholic Reform." Ed.]

1 History of England (1860), VII 269

So much for some Catholic historians who wrote in the last century. Let us run through a few who have written in the first decades of the present century. W. S. Lilly gives his opinion clearly: "Now, unquestionably, as I have already insisted, the Lutheran revolution was primarily a revolt against abuses which had become intolerable. The evidence on this matter is so various, so abundant, so conclusive, as to be absolutely overwhelming."6 He then quotes abundantly from the sources and continues: "The literature of the times teems with evidence of this fact. The indignation of saints, the invective of schismatics, the irony of satirists, all tell the same tale. But every effort to purify the Church failed before the dogged opposition of the Roman Curia. Many, perhaps most, of the places of the papal court had been bought by officials who had a vested interest in the abuses on which they lived, and the Papacy was in some sort forced to maintain a system on which the Curia grew fat. Religion was converted into merchandise."7 And he concludes a few pages farther on: "One chief reason, then, of Luther's success is to be found in the religious and moral condition of the age into which he was born."

That learned and literary English lady, J. M. Stone, whose warm Catholic sympathies appear prominently even in her historical works, has this to say of the conditions of the Reformation: "God's hour was assuredly winging its flight, but it would not come till the Church was almost in extremis. Till decay of faith following on decay of morals threatened her very existence. The catastrophe was hastened by the final pouring of the new wine of the later Renaissance into the old, now worn out, bottles of medievalism, thereby paganizing Rome and corrupting the college of Cardinals to so large an extent that the election to the Papacy of a Roderigo Borgia was made possible."

Before leaving England it will be interesting to quote from The Catholic Social Year Book for 1924, edited by the Oxford Jesuits. The publication has this on page 77: "I do not care to blame the Reformation for the decay of the guilds, because we must face the further question of what was to blame for the Reformation. The answer is of course bad Catholics. If Catholic life had not fallen so low, Protestantism would never have had a chance." And the English Franciscan scholar, A. Pompen, asks the question, did not the pre-Reformation condition of the Church in Germany amount to degeneracy.

It is a pleasure to quote from one of the most fairminded of modern Jesuit scholars. Hartmann Grisar, in his monumental work on Luther has the following: "The condition of things at the commencement of the sixteenth century was such that their continuance was clearly impossible and it was easy to predict a catastrophe. . . . The abuses were great and had become in some cases intolerable, so that we can understand how many lost patience, courage and confidence. . . . It is true that everything was not corrupt, but the existing good was too feeble to struggle against the evil." Father Tacchi Venturi, the well-known Italian Jesuit, says in

⁶ Renaissance Types (1901), 283f

10 Luther (1914), I, 53

the first volume of his history of the Jesuits in Italy: "For a hundred years people in Rome had been talking about corruption and reform, but reform never came. . . . The immensity of the danger, the imperious need of saving the faith and reviving piety were only clear and vivid when in the pontificates of Clement VII and Paul III Italy saw itself the target for the attacks of the innovators who looked forward to a quick and easy conquest."

German and Italian are corroborated by French historical opinion. Jacques Maritain has the following: "There are few spectacles more ignominious than that which is offered in Germany by the carnal looseness of priests and religious of both sexes given free rein by Luther: gangrened members who look only for the occasion to detach themselves from the body of the Church, Indeed, the decadence of the clergy was so great at that time that the situation could not endure."12 In a short history of the Church for schools the Belgian Jesuit, E. de Moreau, gives clearly and modestly his opinion: "The chief reason for the spread of Protestantism appears to us to be the aptitude which it possessed for confusing itself with true reform ardently desired by all the world. Luther and Calvin understood the aspirations of their epoch and often expressed them.''13 He then goes on to give a list of the abuses styling them "more or less deep-set, more or less crying according to provinces."

Turning now to American scholars or to scholarly opinion expressed in American publications, there comes immediately to mind the asseveration of an historian of no less name than the late Cardinal Gasquet. In The Commonweal, issue of April 25, 1928, we read the following words of the Cardinal: "It is no new thing that there should be in the Church need of 'Reform,' and we have no hesitation in saying that one of the greatest calamities that ever befell the Church was the failure of the persistent efforts of 'reform in head and members' in the beginning of the fifteenth century." The Cardinal refers to the failure of the Council of Constance or of the Popes immediately succeeding to provide and enforce a system of reform.

John L. Zybura wrote: "The very men who should have controlled the various phases of the modern spirit and led the several currents into the proper channel were themselves bewitched by the sweetly alluring and dissembling influences of humanism and the Renaissance. It was only after the 'modern' secular naturalistic spirit had waxed strong and from its Italian home had spread to the north and west of Europe, only after millions had become separated from Mother Church that reform and restoration were seriously attempted."

There are some interesting statements made by Father John L. Connolly in his dissertation on John Gerson written for the Louvain doctorate. Among many may be chosen the following: "The appeal of Gerson was to right reason. He challenged the consciences of all, princes and prelates, priests and people. Had they

⁸ Studies in Court and Cloister (1905), 95f

⁹ The English Version of the Ship of Fools (1925)

¹¹ Storia della Compagnia di Gesu in Italia (1910), I, 349

 ¹² Trois Réformateurs (1925), 248
 13 Histoire de l'Église (1927), 221

¹⁴ Present Day Thinkers and the New Scholasticism (1926), 42f

The Daily Class

W. B. Faherty, S. J., M. A.

St. Mary, Kansas

OST teachers of history divide their class time into three periods: one for review, one for new matter, and one for the assignment. In a previous article¹ I suggested the addition of a fourth, which, for want of an English equivalent, may be called by the Latin term prelectio.

The first class of the year could be devoted to a prelectio of the entire matter. This could take any or all of the following forms: (1) the presentation of a framework of dates and facts; (2) an indication of certain definite trends in the period; (3) a contrast of the world or country at the beginning and end of the period studied. If the first form is chosen, make these the criteria of the dates selected: their importance, the ease with which they may be learned, the connectivity with other dates or facts of importance. Dates such as 1588 and 1688 are obviously easy to learn, as are those ending in zero. With 1870 you can connect many events: the Roman Question, Franco-Prussian War, German Empire, the Third French Republic, and the like.

Examples of the second form are: the trend towards centralization of power in America since the Civil War; the gradual decline of the political prestige of the Papacy before Leo XIII; the gradual rise of Prussia since 1618. The third type might be given in the following way. Contrast the medieval man's small knowledge of distant continents with the world-view of the modern man; the religious unity of 1500 with the disunity that followed; the "internationalism" of the middle ages with the extreme nationalism of 1941.

After the general prelectio introduce the boys to the book. Have them read through the Table of Contents, find out what is in the Appendix, and look up a few items in the Index.

When regular routine of classes begins, a review should occupy the first part of the class. This can be written or oral: if written—the better type when there has been no written homework the night before—the tests can be further subdivided into the essay or objective types. The oral type offers more opportunity for pupil activity. You can call on a pupil to quiz the class on a certain part of the chapter; you can call on individual pupils to explain various sections; you can assign one pupil to answer the difficulties the rest have: in all these methods the teacher must be very alert to prevent the waste of valuable time.

After the review, we go to the new lesson. The notebook style of teaching, which not only keeps the student continually occupied, but provides him with a nice summary for his review work at the end of the term, is a very satisfactory system. The chief methods are three: (1) The question-and-answer method. In this the teacher will assign certain questions for the pupil to answer; the questions cover the material taken during the class.

Little writing will be done in class, but a constant checking is necessary to see that the answers are satisfactory. (2) The mimeographed outline method. The teacher will give an outline each day to cover the assigned matter. With an alert, industrious class, the teacher will find this manner very good, as it will save time, insure exactness and neatness of material. (3) The outline method. This outline is to be copied out by each pupil in class. This is the method I prefer. It helps keep attention. It teaches neatness, for the teacher should check the work done at regular intervals. It forces the pupils to spend that much more time on the important points of the matter. It offers a chance for the pupil to help organize the outline.

Before class I prepare an outline of the matter to be taken, an outline containing the minimum essentials that must be learned for an understanding of the section. A more detailed outline can be given the brighter classes. Sometimes I write the outline on the board immediately, and explain it afterwards, especially on a dull day. If the lesson to be taken is entirely new—let us suppose there was a test the previous day—I have one boy read a paragraph from the text. Then I question the class until I have drawn from them the important ideas on that section; these I write on the board for them to copy.

Normally, however, the students will already be somewhat familiar with the matter, since I usually give homework pointing ahead. I would then have the boys themselves work out the outline, through my questions, designed to get from them an answer approximating the items I had prepared for the outline. One caution: be careful not to be explaining while they are writing. End your presentation of the new matter with a brief summary.

At least once a week, I would use one of these special procedures: (1) A debate, or formal discussion. (2) Supervised study, which is especially valuable for first year history students, who may never have learned how to go about their work; this should usually be given in writing. (3) A book report. Assign about a month ahead of time a biography or historical novel to be read. In those schools in which a regular monthly book report is the rule, arrangements can be made with the English teacher on this matter. The report can best be given in either of two ways, in the form of a test, or orally before the class. The former is a more thorough test of what they read; the latter has the advantage of acquainting the class with a number of fine books; it should be aimed not only at showing what a student has read, but also at interesting the others in that particular book. (4) A contest between two sides of a class. (5) Biographical study. This I gave according to the form of the Dr. I. Q. Quiz program over the radio, in which a biographical sketch is presented by means of clues containing gradually better known items. Each student should prepare a sketch of a character individually assigned by the teacher. The pupil, reading one

¹ W. B. Faherty, "The History *Prelectio*", in Historical Bulletin, XVIII (November, 1939), 12-13

clue at a time, tests another pupil selected by the teacher. A sketch of Napoleon might begin: First clue: he was born on the Island of Corsica of Italian parentage in 1769. This type of biographical study makes a very interesting class.

In giving the assignment for the next day, remember that the average American boy reasons thus: "No writing equals no study." So the usual thing will be written work, not always a heavy assignment, but almost always an assignment. The matter of utilizing the imagination in the giving of assignments has been well discussed by Father W. P. Donnelly, S. J.²

Lastly we come to the prelectio, which I mentioned above. Save at least five minutes of class for it. Connect it with the assignment. In a previous article3 I have taken up at length six ways of giving it. Suffice it to say here that the prelectio should aim at capturing the interest of the student, showing him the importance of a new lesson, connecting the new matter with the matter just taken, and above all, introducing him to the new lesson, explaining new terms, pointing out significant places on the map, identifying new characters.

Take these different elements of the class period: review, lesson, assignment, prelectio. Outline them and the various ways of presenting them. Keep this sheet on your desk. Vary your way of giving reviews, prelections and assignments daily. Vary your method of presenting the new matter at least once a week, even if you have some special way which you have found very satisfactory.

² W. P. Donnelly, "Making History Interesting", in HISTORICAL BULLETIN, XVI (November, 1937), 11

⁸ Vide, Note I

Editorials

(Continued from Page 8)

Nearly thirty years ago, if the writer may inject a personal note, after working through all the available writings of "America's greatest philosopher and the world's foremost psychologist" (Note the quotes!), I reached the quite amateurish snap judgment that William James was the most dangerous of modern writers, and this largely because of a suave and lucid style and gentlemanly candor which delight the reader while the author destroys all rational foundation of truth and morality. "We must," he tells us, "learn to give up logic, fairly, squarely and irrevocably." A thing is true if it works, and any hypothesis may be valid. The will to believe, wishful thinking and the satisfaction of our emotional needs make the world go around. This is pure Hitlerism; more to the point, it is irrational Americanism. Bergson's élan vital and McDougall's apology for the passions also find their frightful application in Nazi action. Hitler is, to be sure, closer to Nietzsche than he is to foreign brands of suicidal philosophy. But the fact remains that progressive liberals for a generation have been feeding upon the same sort of irrational trash. By a strange paradox the man who thinks with his blood is immeasurably more logical than his teachers. He is the supreme Pragmatist. Maybe, we should thank the great bad man for giving us an emotional incentive to right thinking!

The Origin of the Jesuits William J. McGucken, S. J., Ph. D.

St. Louis University

NATHER BRODRICK has written volumes more crowded with erudition, but he has never written a more charming book than this that deals with the origins of the Society of Jesus.1 It is a bit unfortunate that Father Brodrick gave the book this rather pretentious title; rather than the origins, the book describes the personalities back of the founding of the Company, that little group of extraordinary men, Ignatius, Xavier, Laynez, Favre, Nadal, Borgia, Simon Rodriguez and others, who helped to make the new Society

a portent in the sixteenth century.

And what amazing pictures he gives us, human at once and humane! He might have drawn conventional sketches of these men of the Renaissance, the chronicles of their astounding successes ad majorem Dei gloriam; instead he allows the protagonists in this pioneer work of building the new Company to speak for themselves through their letters, letters selected with a craftsman's skill from the vast mass of thousands of letters in the Monumenta Societatis Jesu. This is no ordinary work, not merely a tribute of love from a member of the contemporary Society to those old revered founding Fathers; it is a work of art, almost one might say of matchless art. There emerge from the pages no stiff figures with halos on their heads, no mere plaster saints; instead men of flesh and blood, saints and saintly men most of them, but with singularly attractive human appeal and even very human weaknesses. Ignatius ceases to be a baroque figure cast in marble, forbidding, austere, aloof; we catch through his letters glimpses of the various facets of his great soul, now stern and reprehensive with Laynez whom he loved mightily, fearing almost to distract with human love him whom he desired to be a consuming fire; now gracious, tender, and fatherly with the ridiculous Bobadilla and his love of pomp, his braggadocio, or with the impossible Rodriguez and his perpetual whining.

Unforgettable glimpses of the great love that existed between Ignatius and Francis are given in the letters of the latter, letters that Father Brodrick has translated with superb skill, imparting to them a flavor almost Elizabethan. The breath of the Renaissance runs through all Xavier's letters. But after all, Francis was a true son of the Renaissance. Could anything be more poignant than the lines of the Apostle to the Indies to his Father, padre mio charissimo, in far off Rome:

My true Father . . . God our Lord knows what a consolation it was for me to have news of a health and a life so dear to me. Among other holy words and consolations of your letter, I read the concluding one, which ran: 'Entirely yours, without my being able to forget you, Ignatius'. I read them, my eyes full of tears, as they are now full of tears while I write them. The past comes back to me and I recall the great love that you bore and still bear me. . . Your holy charity has written to me how greatly you long to see me again before life closes. God our Lord knows how these words of such great love have sunk into my soul, and what tears they draw from my eyes every time I think of them.

¹ The Origin of the Jesuits, by James Brodrick, London, Longmans, Green. 1940, pp. viii + 274. \$3.00

There are other lights thrown upon these early Jesuits, some of them not known or else known only through the bombastic fustian of faulty and misleading biographers. Thus, St. Francis Borgia—the name is enough to create a mind-set for all that is horrible—turns out to be grandee indeed, a stern ascetic, but with a gracious. kindly, and devoted to his children. Then there is Nadal, the student at Paris who had rudely refused Ignatius' invitation to join him, fought his vocation for years, only finally to succumb to the charm of Ignatius in Rome. He became "the greatest rover that his Order has probably ever known," tramping up and down Europe, carrying to the far-flung Company the spirit and the comfort of its Founder. "He was a perfect genius as a peace-maker and wherever he passed discord died at the sight of him." There is Diego Laynez, that towering monument of erudition, the Pope's theologian at Trent, impetuous, violent of temper, yet ever ready in a torrent of tears to amend his fault. One incident is related of him that deserves preserving. The Dominican, Melchior Cano, the greater hater of Jesuits and of all things that pertained to the Company, was also a theologian at Trent. Laynez in all naivete thought it would be a good thing if Ribadeniera and he were to pay him a visit and try to placate the Society's implacable foe. Cano received them with hauteur. Cold words led to argument; argument led to abuse; epithets were hurled; finally Laynez's Spanish temper blew up; he hurled a last unprintable epithet at the Dominican's head and rushed from the house. The unprintable epithet left Cano speechless with rage, something, it is comforting to recall, that syllogisms had failed to accomplish. Of course, it is pleasant to learn that Laynez returned to apologize, not so pleasant to learn that Cano refused to accept his apology, but best of all that Laynez poured out his grief and shame to Ignatius and begged his pardon.

The last chapter of the book, "Entreating and Comforting as a Father Doth His Children," is easily the most moving of all the book, as it is but fitting in a work about the origin of the Company that the finest and the best part should be devoted to him who was the cause of all the many-sided activity. Every Jesuit naturally cannot help but be touched by these pictures of St. Ignatius' care of the sick and of the ailing, his solicitude for the young, the infirm of purpose. Everyone will find the poignancy of the closing words irresistible: "Ignatius died in character, almost alone, without Viaticum or Extreme Unction. . . . Death for such as he to whom God meant everything was just part of the day's work."

Father Brodrick in his Preface tells us that this little book is "only the first installment of a much more extensive history of the Jesuits which the War and other contingencies have at least temporarily frustrated." Let us all hope that in God's good time the larger book may be issued, a larger book no doubt with much more intimate details than here provided, but hardly a better. This delightful book is a credit to the gifted author, a fitting tribute to the Society on the four hundredth anniversary of her founding, and a welcome addition to the all too scant literature on Christian men of letters.

Hagia Sophia

Claude H. Heithaus, S. J., Ph. D.

St. Louis University

AN important book has recently appeared about one of the most important buildings of all time. Hagia Sophia¹ was the supreme architectural achievement of the Byzantine Empire; in no other building, says Choisy, have stability and daring, brilliance of color and purity of line, the genius of Rome and the genius of the East been united in a more astounding and harmonious whole. Hence artists and travellers, architects and poets have heaped their encomiums upon it.

But Hagia Sophia should interest the historian too. When we speak of "historic monuments," is there any building in the world that can be compared with it? Because it is the only great building in Europe which has been in constant use for more than fourteen centuries, and because it was for nearly a thousand years the central religious shrine of the most ancient, the most powerful and the most civilized Christian state in the western world, this venerable church is saturated with history. Most of its mosaics are still covered by Mohammedan whitewash, and its inestimable treasures of gold, silver and precious stones were looted by Crusaders and Turks; yet in treasure and ornament of another kind, in the accumulation of historical associations and memories that stir the imagination this great church above all other churches in Christendom abounds.

For fourteen centuries Hagia Sophia has stood at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa. It has seen the splendor and the decay of Byzantium, the making of heresies and schisms that split the world, the coming and going of crusades, the advance and retreat of Islam, the triumphant entry of the first Sultan into Europe and the pathetic exit of the last. Its history is the history of one-half of Christendom; first a Catholic church, then a schismatic Orthodox church, then a Mohammedan mosque, and finally a museum!

The idea of erecting a great church in the new Rome on the Bosphorus originated in the mind of Constantine the Great and was carried out by his son Constantius II. That church and its successor, both basilicas with wooden roofs, were destroyed by fire. The third and present Hagia Sophia was begun in 532 A.D. The Eastern Empire was then at the zenith of its power and prosperity, an architectural genius was at hand in the person of Anthemius, artisans and workmen innumerable had been trained in other building operations, and behind the project was the indomitable will of Justinian, whose passion for new and magnificent buildings was more insatiable than that of any ruler who has ever lived save perhaps Rameses the Great. Such a conjunction of favorable circumstances is rare in history; whenever it occurs a great building is produced. Into the making of Hagia Sophia went the labor and skill of ten thousand artisans working at top speed for a little less than five

¹ Hagia Sophia, by Emerson Howland Smith. New York. Columbia University Press. 1940. pp. xvii + 265 (including 46 pp. of plates). \$10.00

years; acres of marble and mosaic were used in its embellishment; quantities of gold and silver, costly stones and rich tapestries that stagger the imagination were lavished on its furnishing; and the total cost was something like \$75,000,000 in our currency.

Even Justinian, a ruler who lived and breathed magnificent buildings, was overwhelmed by the result. On the day of its dedication he was so exalted by the sight of its interior that he broke away from the religious procession, ran to the ambo and cried out in an ecstasy of delight: "Glory to God who has deemed me worthy of fulfilling such a work. O Solomon, I have surpassed thee."

The author of this book, with a scholarship that is extremely thorough but never dull, tells us the history of Hagia Sophia, describes the building with its dependencies, surroundings and fittings, discusses its design, structure and decoration, examines the building in great detail and illustrates his text with forty-six admirable plates of drawings and photographs. The bibliography lists every worth-while book and article that has touched on the subject. It is itself the most valuable book on Hagia Sophia that has yet appeared in English.

Historians will find some of the points which this book establishes highly interesting. Is not our already great veneration for this church increased when we learn that the beautiful bronze door-frames of the entrance called the Gate of the Horologium are older even than the Hagia Sophia of Justinian? The author shows on grounds of style that these frames belong to the fourth century and were probably taken from the wreckage of that earlier Hagia Sophia which Constantine the Great planned and his son Constantius II built in 360 A.D.; for the ornament of these frames closely resembles that of certain fourth-century door-frames in southern Syria. The reviewer wishes that the author had followed this line of investigation still further. For there can be no doubt that these Christian door-frames of the fourth century were inspired by the door-frames of pagan Roman temples of the second century, such as those which have survived at Atil, Kanawat and Bosra in the Djebel Druze and Hauran; and these Roman frames were in their turn an elaboration of the frames employed by the Nabataean Arabs in their temples of the first century B.C. at Sia and Souweida.

No book which undertakes to grapple with the unsolved problems inherent in a building so complicated and so old as Hagia Sophia can hope to be definitive or beyond criticism. But there is one defect in this book which cannot be blamed on the difficulty of the subject. I refer to the rather surprising fact that the author sometimes seems to forget in one chapter what he said in another. The reader is tempted to wonder whether this book was not put together out of chapters written years apart. As an example of statements which almost cancel each other out let me cite the following. On page 4 the author says: "the west facade at any rate-perhaps the entire outer wall—was once sheathed with a revetment of marble." This statement, surprising enough as it stands in view of the fact that it is purely gratuitous, is rendered very surprising indeed by the following statement on page 173: "we have but slight grounds for supposing that more than a small portion of the west facade was ever revetted."

Ten years ago we saluted Father Francis S. Betten on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee in the Society of Jesus. At that time an editorial listed the numerous publications of Father Betten, and paid a glowing tribute to his zeal as a producer of text books. The point most stressed was that he was a pioneer who had seen a need and had labored hard to meet it. For the reader who is blinded by the profusion of pedagogical devices for the painless infusion of historical knowledge we suggest a moment's reflection on the extreme poverty of the Catholic field when Father Betten revised and refurbished the older texts of West. It is not his fault if too many teachers are still blissfully content to rehash "historical facts" that are divorced from reality to the extent of excluding God and man's essential dependence upon Him.

Father Betten has now turned his sixtieth milestone since he put on the livery of Christ in a German novitiate back in 1881. The years and months and days have been filled with hard work. It has been apostolic work. And when the final inventory is taken it will be found that the prosaic grind of research, writing and teaching has been animated and elevated by an unselfish devotedness to duty, to souls and to God. During its short twenty years The Historical Bulletin has been helped by the counsel, encouragement and friendly criticism of Father Betten. The editorial staff congratulates the patriarchal Jubilarian.

The Religious Upheaval

(Continued from page 10)

heeded him and been willing to accept the rule of life that he both preached and practiced, the Church would have been spared the crisis that came a century after his death and gave rise to the dissensions that are now so difficult to heal." And a few pages below, Father Connolly speaks of the "last straw-the abandonment by many of the clergy, particularly those in parish life, of the obligation to lead celibate lives."16

More recent scholars corroborate the judgment of their predecessors. The Belgian, F. Willcox, wrote about a decade ago: "If in the sixteenth century so many people detached themselves from the Church . . . it is necessary to attribute this in great part to the decline of discipline which existed at this epoch in all the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy." The French scholar, Albert Malet, had written: "... this religious revolution had a variety of causes. . . . Two are particularly important: first of all, the state of the Church itself at the beginning of the sixteenth century."18 About the same time the Englishman, the late Archbishop Alban Goodier, wrote: "Meanwhile, within the Church herself, the only remaining bond of union, matters had sunk very low."19

¹⁵ John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic (1928), x

¹⁶ Ibid., 7 17 L'introduction des décrets du concile de Trent dans les Pays-Bas (1929), 18

18 Histoire de France (1927), 137

19 The Jesuits (1930), 6

And more recently the German historian, Joseph Lortz: "And these conditions [low state of the German clergy] were not the exception, but the rule; the crassest conceivable contradiction to the religious and apostolic idea of spiritual office. Here again it is the perilous boring and undermining of the Church from within. The greatest evil lay in the worldliness of the clergy."20 And Wyndham Lewis comments: "Love of riches and ostentatious loose living among so many of the higher and lower clergy, and above all in the court of Rome itself, had inspired in the laity a contempt for the priesthood. ... Those barriers which might have withstood the flood when the dams burst were rotten and unrepaired . . . "21 Writes Christopher Hollis: "The whole policy of the papal court was so cankered with money-grubbing worldliness that Adrian VI himself said . . . that the curia had been the fountain head of all the corruptions of the Church."22 The American scholar, Ross Hoffman, commenting in the Catholic World on Constant's The Reformation in England (1934), wrote: "This fall in the prestige and moral authority of the papacy is the most important fact in the whole history of Christendom at the close of the Middle Ages."23

It is not unfitting to close this little exposition of modern Catholic thought and scholarship with a name which must be particularly acceptable to the pages of THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN, for Hilaire Belloc some years back received especial editorial praise in these columns and has been spoken of (November 1928) as one whose "position in the face of the data of history has been admirably taken." Belloc, in his How the Reformation Happened (1928), when speaking on indulgences, says that "there were damnable abuses in practice" and that "no one can read the contemporary evidence without deciding that masses of men had fallen into accepting an indulgence as a remission for sin: an absolution. (66.) He further writes: "The second factor in the Scottish position was the corruption of the Church, which, very bad everywhere throughout Europe in the fifteenth century, had in Scotland reached a degree hardly known elsewhere." (182.) "Meanwhile, the essential thingreform from within, which, undertaken in time, would have saved Europe-still hung fire." (139.) "The threat of cleavage, and of worse, of chaos in Europe-might have been dispelled and our people might have returned to their ancient security and happiness . . . had not a convergence of ill fortune and blunders come in to enhance the effects of fatal delay of reform from within." (159.) "Attack from without was easy, rapid, explosive; reform from within was apparently impossible; the complicated machinery was ill-kept and incapable of rapid re-adjustment. Under so violent a strain the gear jammed. And the Papacy which controlled all was in the worse case of all. . . . Obviously, the attack upon the Catholic Church would have had no success if all the officials thereof in the sixteenth century had themselves come forward in a body denouncing their own guilt; the pluralities, the lay appropriations, the shame of their worldly lives, the gross scandal of impurity,

the oppression of the poor, the exaggeration of mechanical aids to religion, the occasional use of fraud in it, the wide-spread use of extortion in clerical dues and rents, the chicanery of the clerical courts." (211f.)

Here then is an exposition of some modern Catholic scholarly thought upon the causes of the Protestant Revolt. Hereby is manifested a marked improvement upon certain older ways. It is the student's task to interpret the facts correctly and dispassionately at all times; courageously if they be unpleasant. The opinions above quoted rest upon a solid foundation, for they are abundantly supported by the sources. An exposition of these in a later issue of the Bulletin will offer Catholic students food for profitable reflection.

The Pattern of Persecution

(Continued from Page 4)

quicken into life even in response to shots of Nazi adrenalin.7 As for the Protestants, Hitler wished to bring them all under government control and for this purpose was formed the Reichskirche with Reichsbischof Mueller at its head. This piece of dictator bureaucracy met with a spirited resistance from Protestant pastors banded together in the Confessional front. Whereas in France, Mexico and Russia religious orders were attacked early in the persecution, in Germany the religious orders are still permitted to exist. The Nazis content themselves with depriving the orders of the opportunity to work.8 Confiscation, another of the common factors, is found in the German revolution. In 1938 a decree empowered the Government to expropriate Catholic schools.9 There has been as yet no open confiscation of Churches—at least in Germany proper.

Bloody Persecution

In three of our four revolutions we find the stage of violence even to the shedding of blood. In France the reign of terror reached its sanguinary climax in the year II, when priests were butchered without mercy by blooddrunk Jacobins. In Mexico the persecution reached a higher pitch of hysteria when Dictator Calles determined to enforce the anti-Catholic provisions of the Constitution of 1917 in all their rigor. Blood flowed freely as priests and laymen alike staggered under the volleys of Callista firing squads.¹⁰ In Russia the persecution reached the violent stage as soon as the Bolsheviks gained control. Between 1918 and 1923 there were 28 Bishops and 1400 priests put to death.¹¹ Communists in Russia may be somewhat slipshod in their efforts at mass-production but they display a real gift for massmurder. The Nazi persecution has not yet reached the violent stage.

In two of our revolutions we find the period of false reaction. It appears in France when the Thermidorian reaction gave common sense a chance to come uppermost. The killers who had overthrown Robespierre hastened to assume the guise and style of mod-

²⁰ History of the Church (1938), 381 21 Charles of Europe (1931), 24 22 Saint Ignatius (1931), 136 23 CXL (Feb., 1935), 527

⁷ Mario Bendiscioli, Nazism vs. Christianity, London, Skeffing-

ton, 180.

8 Catholic Mind, XXXVI (Nov. 22, 1938), 862, "Pastoral Letter of the Bavarian Bishops"

Mariano Cuevas, Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico, El Paso,
 Revista Catolica, 1928, V, 435-473
 Attwater, Dissident Eastern Churches, 83

erates-strange guise indeed for Fréron and Tallien! The Church profited by the common disgust with the terrorists, and there was a moment in the year III when it seemed as if the flames of persecution might die out. This moment is also found in the Mexican persecution, when United States Ambassador Dwight Morrow succeeded in making Emilio Portes Gil, the current Calles puppet, agree to a modus vivendi, which although it continued the persecution abated some of its more disagreeable manifestations. In both cases the reaction was a false one. In France the post-Thermidor Convention¹² and the Directory showed themselves bitterly hostile to Christianity. While the bloody days of the year II were not repeated, hundreds of priests were sent to Guiana—to the dry guillotine. Every effort was made to set up a naturalist religion to replace the religion of Christ, but neither the Culte Décadaire nor Theophilanthropy could live without plenty of artificial respiration.

Governor Tejeda of Vera Cruz gave the signal for resuming the persecution in Mexico when his state limited the number of priests to one in a hundred thousand. Other states rapidly followed suit until the situation became serious indeed. In vain Catholics appealed to the course against this tyranny. The situation only became worse as President Calles declared that the state must enter into possession of children's souls, and the attack on Christianity advanced from the line of "lay" education to that of "socialist" education. Even the long-hoped-for overthrow of Calles brought little relief as Lazaro Cardenas proved to be a bigot of the same stamp—although perhaps a more sincere bigot.

In Russia the stage of even a false reaction has not yet been reached. True one could consider the Constitution of 1936, which guarantees freedom of religion¹³ as an evidence of a slackening in the anti-religious program, but the Russian constitution of 1936 bears a strong resemblance to the extremely democratic French constitution of the year I which was enshrined in an ark—and left there. In Germany, as the persecution has not yet reached the violent stage, there is no question of a false reaction.

The end of the French revolutionary persecution came in 1801, when Napoleon and Pope Pius VII agreed on a concordat. This abruptly left the ersatz religions to wither and gave resurgent Christianity a chance to come out of the catacombs. True even Napoleon took measures against the Church and the Pope, but these differed in kind from the revolutionary attack on Christianity. Napoleon's aggressions were jurisdictional, i. e. he wished to control the Church, not to kill it. Unfortunately the French persecution is the only one of our four which has reached a term. It is reported that the successor of Cardenas, Manuel Avila Camacho, has openly proclaimed that he is a believer. These are astounding words in the mouth of a Mexican revolutionary dictator, words fraught with hope. Time has yet to reveal whether the hope will be realized. In Russia there seems to be no immediate hope for a speedy end to the persecution as long as Stalin sits in the Kremlin. For though he

may have abandoned other articles of the Marxist creed, the ex-seminarian of Tiflis adheres closely to the party line of hatred for Christianity. In Germany unless the Nazi revolution should break down, the pattern of persecution would indicate an intensification of the attack on Christianity. And indeed the reluctance of the German leaders to slow up their anti-Christian drive in war time when unity is so much to be desired is ominous for the future, when war conditions no longer exist.

Such then is the result of this very incomplete study of persecutions. I have made no effort to stretch facts to fit theory, but have frankly pointed out discrepancies. There remains however enough similarity to justify the title: Pattern of Persecution.

Alfred A. Kaufmann, S. J., died on October the second at the age of sixty-two. During the past decade or so, poor health seriously hampered productive scholarship, though his genial disposition and his contagious enthusiasm made it a pleasure to discuss historical problems with him. His published work is only a fraction of what he would have done if physical strength had matched his ambitions. R. I. P.

Founded in 1933, the Canadian Catholic Historical Association displays the enthusiasm of lusty youth and at the same time the full maturity of trained scholarship. It has a productive field in which to labor, and its historians, professional and amateur, possess plenty of ability as well as patriotic zeal. The already well-worked, not to say over-worked, romantic past of the French section will continue for years to come to hold its own in friendly rivalry with still-unexploited and slightly more prosaic English section. From across the border we raise an impartial salute to the bi-lingual association. Also, we eagerly share in their researches as presented in their annual Reports.

The Report for 1939-1940, aside from its value as evidence of growth, makes excellent reading. Approximately one hundred pages in English and a few more in French, closely printed in eight-point type, bring us thirteen papers read at the seventh annual meeting in October, 1940. The English papers lean more to external activities; the French papers deal, for the most part, with the conflict of ideas and the problems created thereby. In the latter there is a unity and continuity. They are grouped under the caption: "les Problèmes religieux dans le Canada au Lendemain de la Conquête." Among these problems are the influence of Voltaire and Lamennais, of Protestantism and Democracy. R. C.

A History Outline Series to accompany texts now in use in Catholic High Schools has been launched by The Historical Bulletin. The first number (Ancient and Medieval History; pp. 66; twenty cents) was prepared by Francis J. Aspenleiter, a former member of the staff who has succeeded remarkably well in making first-year boys like history. Favorable comment and fairly wide adoption encourage further ventures along the same line. Outlines are being prepared for Kaufmann's Modern Europe, Magruder's American Government and the American histories of Wilson and Purcell. We hope to have these ready next summer.

¹² A. Debidour, Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France de 1789 à 1870, Paris, Germer Ballière et Cie., 1898, 144

<sup>1898, 144

13</sup> Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
Moscow, Co-operative Publishing Society, 1936, Article 124

The Jesuits and Liberalism

(Continued from Page 6)

a bogey compounded of fear, ignorance, petty jealousy and fanaticism, a travesty unlike any typical Jesuit who ever existed in the flesh.

The Liberals of the past century were the master builders of our totalitarian present, which the Liberals of today repudiate. The Jesuits are and always have been closer to American ideals in their denial of both unlimited liberty and unlimited authority in any created being or human institution. Consciously and of set purpose, Liberals labored to clear away all restrictions. even the most legitimate, that seemed to cramp their autonomous man. They made a fetish of liberty. They erected a half-truth into an absolute. But in the process they laid, unwittingly no doubt, the foundations of the omnipotent state and stripped the individual of his only sure defense against it. Through them Hitler is a lineal descendant of Rousseau and his "general will." If this sounds like pure paradox, we protest that it is our reading, a Jesuit reading of history.

D'Irsay sums up the case quite simply. In the University struggle, he tells us, the Liberals were Etatists, promoters of state absolutism, the Ultramontanes were the real liberals. And it could hardly be otherwise. To get and keep control, the Liberal must have a strong state. If he permits religious freedom, he permits a denial of, and attack upon, his bourgeois philosophy. When he upholds freedom of teaching, he finds it necessary to repress the liberty of a religion which censures license. But the fact is, the liberal will seldom permit freedom of teaching. It would be amusing, if we had time, to follow out the contradictions of the liberal who tries to be logical to the end.

On the other hand, the Jesuits have been consistently the protagonists of divine authority, of the natural law and of human responsibility. The accidents of time have now and then bound them too closely perhaps to the established order. But they have suffered much for their opposition to every sort of arrogated "divine right" in monarchs, the money-power or the mob. They have stood four-square in the path of excessive nationalism and of unlimited popular sovereignty. And paradoxically again, by insisting upon the hard truths of reason and revelation they have maintained the rights of the individual and his essential freedom to work out his own destiny in the face of any earthly power. To be more specific, a hundred years ago the Jesuits were holding the fundamental doctrines of American democracy on the proper relations of the individual to the state. Nor was this merely the happy result of long years of persecution. It was part of their medieval heritage, written down in the huge tomes of their own classic authors. We have met liberals who talked like Jesuits; one may more readily meet a Jesuit whose views are decidedly liberal.

Natural Enemies

But the conflict of a century ago involved even deeper issues. There was question of radically opposed philosophies, views of life, conceptions of man's origin, nature and final destiny. The Jesuit was a Christian, a Catholic,

an Ultramontane. For him man was a creature of God, dependent upon his Creator in the natural as well as in the supernatural order. The thorough-going Liberal was a secularist who ruled God out of life and out of all political, economic, social and cultural activity. He was an heir of the naturalism, rationalism, and irreligion which stemmed from the great "release of appetites" known as the Renaissance and reached fuller maturity in the French Revolution. The Liberal set out to build an earthly paradise, and he resented any interference with his dream. In 1840 his attitude toward religion and the Church ranged from bitter hatred to condescending indifference towards an outmoded superstition. No doubt, many a Liberal thought only in terms of the material progress and civilization which were somehow connected with emancipation from worn-out institutions of the Old Régime. But for the University leaders who saved their monopoly by attacking the Jesuits, this was no mere faction fight; it was a battle for "eternal" principles. We have a hint of depths below the surface of relatively innocent liberal politics and economics in the title of a Spanish monograph of the late nineteenth century which, translated into our more terse English, reads: "Liberalism is Sin." If this is mere Latin exaggeration, there is John Henry Newman, always calm and clairvoyant in his grasp of realities and sure in his use of words, rejoicing that he had spent fifty years, Anglican and Catholic, combatting "the great mischief of Liberalism in religion."

Benedetto Croce is a good witness at this point. Liberalism is, he says, "the religion of the new era." And "the most direct and logical negation of the Liberal idea" is the Church of Rome. "To the liberal concept that the aim of life is in itself, and that duty lies in the increase and elevation of this life, and the method, in free initiative and individual inventiveness, Catholicism answers that, on the contrary, the aim lies in a life beyond this world." This statement of the case takes us out of the field of mere politics and economics.

In the Introduction of his four-volume history of the French Jesuits in the nineteenth century, Joseph Burnichon throws further light on the alignment of parties. "From the moment of its restoration," he writes, "the Company of Jesus has been faced with a strange coalition, the Liberal Party. Alongside Voltaireans and Revolutionaries, at once atheist and furiously irreligious, one meets Gallican parlementarians, Jansenists and Regalians. 'Down with the Jesuits' is the rallying cry of all elements opposed to traditional and Christian royalty." At least, there is enough here to indicate a real conflict of principles.

We may now trace, all too hurriedly, the course of a struggle which has something of dramatic interest, flavored with about equal amounts of comedy and tragedy. The sequence of events will explain, we hope, whatever apparent bias there is in the preceding paragraphs. The Napoleonic University was in flagrant contradiction to the fundamental principles and expressed promise of the Charter of 1830. Hard-pressed by Montalembert, who was arousing the Catholic population from their sheep-like passivity, and by the bishops of France, who were displaying something like unanimous indig-

nation at its bad philosophy, and nettled, moreover, by the rougher methods of one or two of the more violent Catholic critics, the monopolists bethought themselves of a rallying-cry that would win over even the radical elements in the "liberal" camp who up to that time had been loudest in their denunciation of the monopoly. The Jesuits, who were only remotely concerned, were dragged into the main controversy by way of diversion, much as a besieged garrison might resort to a desperate sortie in order to disconcert an attacking force. This piece of strategy was successful. While the government, in the persons of M. Guizot and the king, tried vainly to hold aloof, and while the opposition, headed by M. Thiers, made political capital out of the situation, the motley army of "Liberty" saved the privileged University, and the Jesuits were deprived, ultimately through an act of voluntary self-effacement, of the common rights of Frenchmen.

The Battle

The trouble started in February, 1841, when M. Villemain, the Minister of Public Instruction, proposed a revision of the University Monopoly. M. Villemain was not a Goebbels nor a Lunacharsky. He admitted liberty of instruction "in principle." But his Liberalism called for "the exclusive influence and absolute control of the state in the education of its youth." His new project might have been regarded as merely an empty, not to say hypocritical, gesture. But it stirred the tempest. By it the bishops, who were little interested in the abstract question of liberty, were touched in their most sensitive nerve. Villemain was actually tightening the University control of education and, more specifically, he was wrecking the episcopal seminaries. In the excitement the bishops became conscious of the demoralizing influence of the "Eclectic" philosophy of Victor Cousin, the head of the University. Cousin and his "liberal-minded" disciples, while not openly hostile to religion, were very effectually driving it from the souls of the Catholic students, who were virtually forced to follow their courses. To the indignant protests of the bishops the University nabobs could make no respectable reply. But almost immediately the "Liberal" press sprang to its defense. The National, the Courier Français, the Constitutionnel, and the Journal des Débats, carried articles praising the University in practically every issue throughout the year 1842. These journals disliked the monopoly, and said so repeatedly. But like good Liberals they resented the resurgence of Catholic life in France.

The first and only move that might be constructed as a Jesuit attack on the Monopoly came from a lone warrior, Père Deschamps, whose devastating Monopole Universitaire, Destructeur de la Religion et des Lois, appeared under the name and active patronage of a canon of Lyons, l'abbé Des Garets. The mildly totalitarian Villemain could see nothing wrong in the brilliant charlatanism of Cousin, whose eclectic hodge-podge of Deism and Pantheism, of Kant and Descartes, of Fichte, Hegel and Schelling was intended to supplant a dwindling Christianity. Villemain asked for proofs of the charges made by the bishops. Deschamps had listened to lectures and read the books of the professors and their reported

utterances in the journals of the time. His answer to Villemain was an arsenal of usable clippings which made a sizable book of nearly seven hundred pages. The book was in no sense an official or approved Jesuit publication. In fact, it was highly disapproved by what might be considered the pars major et sanior of the Society. Père de Ravignan and the Father General lamented the rough style of the author, his personalities and his too sweeping generalizations. They also felt that this inopportune publication would do more harm than good. Others there were who thought this exposure of plain facts altogether timely.

And here, an embarrassing situation provided an opportunity. The University judged it prudent not to argue a losing case. It was better tactics to shift ground and counter-attack the Jesuits. The move was more instinctive than planned. The University had, in fact, an inglorious tradition of nearly three hundred years of hostility to the Jesuits. It was running true to form when in 1840 Victor Cousin put the Lettres provinciales on the required reading list, and when Antoine Arnauld's tirade of 1594 against the Jesuits was assigned as a topic for competitive essays in the lycées. Now the arena was prepared for two redoubtable champions. Edgar Quinet and Jules Michelet were illustrious figures in the academic world. Both are catalogued as Liberals. In the past they had shown a keen appreciation of religion. This is not the place to investigate the kinks of character which led them to prostitute their eminent talents to a low campaign of misrepresentation and downright slander. If this paper appears to be one-sided, let it stand or fall with Messieurs Michelet and Quinet. One can save their honesty only at the price of their intelligence, and hardly even then.

At any rate, the professors transformed their regular courses at the University into one long concerted diatribe against the Jesuits. The lectures were a riotous success, the end, so it appears, fully justifying the means. Then the two professors in a passion rushed into print, and their book, Des Jésuites, was a literary event. "Never, perhaps, since Pascal," says Débidour, "had the Company of Jesus been castigated in so magisterial a way." During three centuries they have "sinned against religion, against liberty and the intellectual life of the nations." Their corporate policy, enshrined in their constitutions, has ever been "to stop, to suspend, to freeze human thought." "The Jesuits destroy the souls of men, the family, the nation, humanity itself." The Company of Jesus is the "natural enemy" of the free, glorious French Revolution. "Either Jesuitism must abolish the spirit of France or France must annihilate the spirit of Jesuitism." And in the name of "sincerity, truth and liberty" Quinet calls the young men to battle for the "genius of France."

The book was answered by Père Cahour in a volume of about equal length. Quinet had written: "I will be moderate, sincere, frank, brave. Voila les textes!" One sentence of Cahour's counter-challenge is worth quoting. "If," he says, "among all the citations, even the least important, of MM. Quinet and Michelet, there is found one single text that is textually accurate, one text that is not given a meaning exactly the opposite of what it has in its own context, I renounce the right to be

heard." And the major portion of his book is devoted to a restoring of mutilated, garbled, misinterpreted texts. Clearly, Michelet and Quinet had joined the great body of Jesuit enemies on whom the elementary rules of professional conduct were no longer binding.

There is a suspicion that the professors did not act entirely on their own initiative. In spite of their too much protesting, it is hard to believe that they sold their academic souls for mere popularity. But now there enters a crusader for "liberty" on a lower plane. Where the professors had catered to the intellectuals, Eugène Sue amused the proletariat (and no doubt many of the intellectuals as well). His Wandering Jew was a publisher's venture for which the Constitutionnel, the journal of M. Thiers, paid 100,000 francs. Both as a serialthriller and later in book form, it was a huge financial success. Mystery and intrigue, heavily spiced with lascivity, partially explain its appeal. But its primary purpose was to libel the Jesuits. If, says the author, he has singled out for public scorn the members of the Society of Jesus, he has merely put into literary form the logical consequences of "unclean, revolting treatises" placed by the Jesuits in the hands of young seminarians. Like the professors, he is fond of "the scrupulous examination of texts." "It is now incontestible," he tells his readers at the end of twelve hundred-odd pages, "it is a fact proved by texts subjected to searching investigation, from Pascal down to our own time, that the theological works of Jesuits of the highest rank either excuse or justify Robbery-Adultery-Rape-Murder." And the French words are spread across the page in capital letters. Blaise Pascal would hardly relish the company of his new ally in the field of literary defamation.

The war of books and pamphlets went on. A mere list of titles, most of them unavailable now, tells a story of imagination run wild. One book, however, is in a class by itself. For logic, earnestness, depth of conviction and sobriety of tone, Père de Ravignan's De l'Existence et de l'Institut des Jésuites deserves and has won a place apart. Ravignan was by far the best known Jesuit in France. Outside Catholic circles he was practically the only Jesuit whom the ordinary Frenchman recognized as such. Soldier, lawyer and judge in his early life, he combined the qualities of all in his religious garb. He was universally admired and respected. No one ever questioned his personal integrity. His argument for the case of the Jesuits was a masterpiece of exposition and reasoning. As a Catholic and a citizen, he claimed the right to follow his conscience, to bind himself to religious life by his vows and to devote himself to apostolic labors. Interference with his legitimate freedom, he claimed, was tyranny. The only answer to his book was best expressed in the surprising statement of Royer-Collard: "Père de Ravignan is artless enough to think himself a Jesuit." When it suited their purpose, the pamphleteers of the time could create Jesuits on all sides. Montalembert, Lacordaire, the active secular clergy, the religious orders and the bishops were all lumped together under the hated name.

A proper treatment of the denouement of our story would require more time than we can give to it. Montalembert's party was what he intended it to be, an embarrassment for the government. He still insisted that

We have been urged to change our name. We have also been warned to protect our name by copyright. There is, moreover, the possibility of adopting a new format.

The completion of volume XX of The Historical Bulletin will find us open to further suggestions. In any case, at the end of the current year we shall distribute an index to cover the five volumes published since our cumulative index of 1937.

all the wrangling over the Jesuits was leaving the main issue untouched. The Liberal attack upon them was. he knew, an attack upon religion and the Church. And so, his natural dislike for them (a dislike or antipathy which Ravignan had once shared) gave way to a chivalrous determination to defend them. The Jesuits themselves, encouraged by the best lawyers in France, were quite willing to contest the validity of obsolete laws in the French courts. On the other hand, a noisy opposition, in the chambers and in the press, was causing a governmental headache. M. Thiers was invoking the shades of Voltaire to rid France of the Jesuits, hoping no doubt to ride into the cabinet on this hobby-horse. In February, 1844, M. Villemain, now on the verge of insanity, offered his second project of a law to curb the University Monopoly. It satisfied no one.

At this juncture M. Guizot bethought himself of a way out of his difficulties. He would invoke the aid of the Pope. In his voluminous Mémoires Guizot makes a clear case for himself and his methods. And certainly, this "Protestant Bossuet" was in Jesuit eyes the best friend of liberty among the official class. Guizot still clung to his "lofty views," but an enemy might characterize his diplomatic manoeuvres as slightly Jesuitical. His special envoy to Rome was Pelegrino Rossi, a refugee Liberal, whose clever diplomacy would, Guizot hoped, alternately frighten and soothe the Roman authorities. But the astute Italian peer of France met another astute Italian in the Secretary of State. Gregory XVI was not a Clement XIV, and the July Monarchy was totally unlike the Bourbon gang of the preceding century. Gregory refused to impose any restrictions on the Jesuits. His cardinals had warned him that it would be wrong to do so. Finally, Rossi was begging Cardinal Lambruschini to induce the Jesuit Father General to urge his French subjects to make it possible for the French government to ignore their existence. The Jesuits were asked to "commit suicide," which consisted in closing a few houses and changing a few addresses. There was some expression of indignation on the part of Catholic leaders generally. But the whole affair was an anticlimax, and after the epilogue of the February Revolution, the Jesuits were back again, to go through the usual cycles of peace and persecution, perhaps to write the history of a continually evolving Liberalism.

Book Reviews

A History of Magic and Experimental Science: volumes V and VI, The Sixteenth Century, by Lynn Thorndike. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. xxii + 695 and xviii + 766. \$10.00

Professor Thorndike here presents the results of a life-time of research. The encyclopedic character of the two bulky volumes will appeal to the librarian. The serious student will revel in the closer contact with widely scattered sources and the vast amount of detail. The general reader will carry away a more intimate insight into the fumbling, and often puerile self-assertion which has been unduly glorified as the Renaissance.

The very compact index covers one hundred and fifty pages. Its seventeen hundred subjects include astrology and alchemy, horoscopes, stars, dreams and demons, necromancy, chiromancy, divination, magic, witchcraft and incantation, philters and poisoning. On the credit side, the century can show considerable progress in medicine and mathematics, in astronomy and anatomy. Between da Vinci and Galileo there are names like Copernicus, Harvey and Vesalius. But the stage is crowded with charlatans, quacks, imposters; and there is plenty of bombast and plagiarism making a comfortable living on the ignorance, credulity and superstition of emancipated moderns. Neither Catholics nor Protestants could claim a monopoly of genius. Gullibility was shared by freethinkers and religiousminded alike; it was a universal feature of the great awakening. The official pronouncements of the Church were on the side of sanity; but most churchmen were children of their age. The myth of the Renaissance, with its printing press and its widening horizon, with its retrograde Classicism and its upstart contempt for the Middle Ages is toned down to historical reality.

Some twelve hundred writers, good, bad and indifferent, furnish material for the diagnoses of Doctor Thorndike. Three hundred printers and about the same number of patrons, mostly princes and prelates, made their works available. Nearly five hundred secondary authorities are drawn upon to make this a monumental, though by no means flawless work.

R. CORRIGAN.

Drafting the Federal Constitution, by Arthur Taylor Prescott. University, La. Louisiana State University Press. 1941. pp. xix + 838. \$5.50

The beginner will find this volume clear, orderly, and highly instructive; the initiate will find it a useful and handy editing of source material to which he can easily refer when in search of individual points in the genesis of our Constitution. Madison's Notes have been digested and arranged by an expert; and although the style is characterized by the preciseness and arrangement of a textbook rather than by the breeziness of journalism, the product is a book that may well serve the general intelligent reader. For in these days of rapid change in politics, expansion of federal power to meet emergencies, and questioning of the function of the Supreme Court, a concrete understanding of the birth of our present system might help to stabilize our political thought.

Of course the present volume is not a philosophical treatise on our government, but a compilation of historical data. Hence the writer is not to be blamed for the lack of penetration on the part of the delegates at the Convention of 1787. But this same lack of penetration is again brought to the fore by the records of the discussions. One sees that in spite of the occasional pious references to the Creator, a political secularism permeated the delegates' thought: they had no clear concept of the divine origin of all authority, which is the only mark that distinguishes authority from force or utility. And hence they could not satisfactorily examine the still-unsolved question: Are the House and Senate our agents or our rulers?

S. J. RUEVE.

Their Name is Pius: Portraits of Five Great Modern Popes, by Lillian Browne-Olf. Milwaukee. Bruce Publishing Company. 1941. pp. xv + 382. \$3.00

A hundred years ago any amateur historian would have told you that the reigning pope bore the greatest name in papal annals. Gregory XVI was a good pope, though hardly a great pope. Far above him like two lonely mountain-peaks towered the

first and the seventh Gregory, while several others of the name occupied the intervening space. Fifty years ago, an admirer of the Encyclicals would have claimed at least second rank for the Leos. Today, for the man in the street and for the cautious scholar as well, the name of Pius wears a brighter lustre than any other, and this in spite of the fact that one Gregory was the father of medieval Christendom and another broke the strangle-hold of Feudalism. If we confine our study to the modern period, there is simply no competition for preeminence. During nearly three-fourths of the years since 1775 a Pius has ruled and taught and suffered. And during this dynamic revolutionary age papal prestige has steadily mounted amid marvelous material transformations and the general crack-up of the spiritual values for which the papacy stands.

Mrs. Browne-Olf has given us five biographical sketches, into which she has woven some interpretation of the times and a continuity of development in the papacy from passivity and humiliation to energetic leadership. The book is slightly panegyrical, as is quite proper. But a fair amount of direct quotation from documentary sources keeps the reader close enough to the cold facts. There are a few slips that will pass unnoticed by the casual reader. There are a few sweeping statements that are not altogether accurate. The author displays a pleasing intimacy with recent events and movements; her control is not so sure in the earlier sections of the book. She does not pretend to write a complete history of the Church. She has, however, provided some very helpful collateral reading for the student who wants to rise above the frenzy of the politico-economic arena and view the turmoil of civilization as it is viewed by the clearest eyes in a floundering Christendom.

Western Civilizations, Their History and Culture, by Edward McNall Burns. New York. Norton. 1941. pp. xx + 926. \$4.35

Such a vast number of surveys of European history have appeared in the last few years that it is necessary to classify them by genus and species to make an order out of the maze. This work is definitely in the mood of the so-called "New History" which makes all of the past, prehistoric and historic, known and unknown, the laboratory for a glorfied Cultural Anthropology. The "New History" aspires to the role of teacher of "social metaphysics" to adolescent America.

Professor Burns' work is written with much more care, restraint, and scholarship than most of them, but for this reason it better illustrates the dangers and weaknesses of this "New History" ideal. Science must be based upon the known evidence; and the known evidence does not justify much of the interpretation contained in this book. Any real attempt at the interpretation of the whole of European development from the amoeba to Hitler is bound to be mostly a reflection of the bias of the author who "sifts" the facts.

Part One of this work, "The Dawn of Cultural Evolution," would give any scrupulous physical or cultural anthropologist a bad time. The author is probably unaware of the fact that the best known of his many extinct "genera" of early men, the Neanderthal, is represented to our knowledge by only about one hundred different skeletal remains and that most of these are so fragmentary that only in very recent years in Italy has one been found sufficiently intact to give us positive evidence on whether or not he walked erect. The very discoverer of the Java Man, Dubois, has himself changed his mind about a half dozen times on whether or not his finds are even human. The whole of the "historical method" school of cultural anthropology can find no confirmation of Professor Burns' hypotheses concerning the origin of the family, state, property, and religion. From all this in conclusive evidence and very questionable hypotheses we are to learn the "social experience" according to which we are to mold our morals, religious beliefs, and future civilization!

It may be considered unfair to review a book solely on the first forty-eight pages as has apparently been done here, but if these first pages are evidence of the scholarship and scientific honesty which has gone into this work on the "New History," little more need be said. Actually, this book is sprinkled with multitudes of other interpretations which are based on evidence as flimsy. Although there are many excellent illustrations, they are inserted so far from the text they are to illustrate that they seem more distracting than useful.

R. L. Porter.

Henry de Tonty, Fur Trader of the Mississippi, by Edmund Robert Murphy. Institut Français de Washington. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. pp. xix + 129. \$2.00

Tardy justice is finally being rendered a great frontiersman of colonial days. It is not that Henry de Tonty has remained unknown all these years. His name is familiar to many who are not students of Mississippi Valley beginnings. His real worth and his personal contributions to the exploration, exploitation, and settlement of the Valley have been overshadowed by the often undeserved prominence given to La Salle. Tonty, the "faithful Tonty," has hardly ever been given a place in the French colonial story in his own right. Mr. Murphy's study begins the process of righting the balance.

This work is not a full biography of Tonty; it does not pretend to be. Rather it is a study of the versatile Italian as a fur trader. And the task has been well done. We can only hope that Mr. Murphy will push his investigation further and, in due time, give us a first-class biography of which we would like to think of the present work as merely a "teaser."

JOHN F. BANNON.

Vanguards of the Frontier, by Everett Dick. New York. D. Appleton-Century. 1941. pp. xiv + 574. \$5.00

Scholars and readers acquainted with Dr. Dick's earlier western study, The Sod-House Frontier, will welcome this present work, which he himself describes as a companion volume. It is worthy in every respect of its predecessor, and possibly, from point of general appeal, even a bit more interesting.

Prefacing a series of chapters on familiar aspects of the frontier expansion are several excellent studies of frontier types. In these studies of the fur trader, the Mountain Man, the frontier soldier, the oft-forgotten Indian agent, and the equally overlooked missionary, Dr. Dick makes a substantial contribution. Other "vanguard types" show up through the course of the work. The final chapter on the "characteristics of the frontier" offers little that is new, but it is valuable in so far as it contains the analysis of a scholar who has spent many years in sifting and assimilating frontier lore. The bibliography should be commended for its inclusion of a number of master's theses and doctoral dissertations which have been written in late years at a number of the Trans-Mississippi universities and whose and doctoral dissertations which have been written in late years at a number of the Trans-Mississippi universities and whose existence is too little known. The book contains a number of well-chosen illustrations. The map, reproduced in the inside covers, is adequate and well-done. In a word, this book is worthy of consideration.

John F. Bannon.

Early Gild Records of Toulouse, edited with an introduction by Sister Mary Ambrose Mulholland, B.V.M. New York, Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. 193. \$3.00

The poet did not say which Raymond it was that "rules in Languedoc O'er the champaign fair and wide" but he never intended his Lord of Toulouse to be taken seriously. Indeed he confessed his ignorance even of the width of the streets of the city, and in this respect he was no whit worse than the historians who, up to the publication of this volume, were equally ignorant of what went on in those streets in the thirteenth century. Until recently, at least, the city of Toulouse had an almost unrivalled collection of craft gild records. Sister Mary, Ambrose has transcribed the statutes of a number of Mary Ambrose has transcribed the statutes of a number of the gilds, and has written a critical introduction that has more than a passing interest for the economic historian. The records than a passing interest for the economic historian. The records show a wide variety of requirements for membership in the gilds, and supply us with a wealth of detail about manufacturing processes. They fail to tell us much about apprenticeship, and the author advances as a reason for this the relative youth of the gilds at the time of the early reductions of their records. Since the statutes have no equal in Languedoc they are invaluable for a proper appreciation of the economic structure in that part of France in the middle ages.

The records also have an interest for the student of mediaeval government since it appears that the gilds were from their inception subjected to a remarkable degree of political control within the town.

The author also advances an interesting hypothesis on the relations of the gilds to the king's viquier in the period of the centralization of authority in the king that should not go unnoticed. Sister Mary Ambrose has contributed materially to constitutional as well as to economic history.

HERBERT H. COULSON.

Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne, by Richard Wilder Emery. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. 184. \$2.50

This study, says its author, "attempts to find a more satisfactory explanation (than staunch loyalty to the Catholic faith) of the somewhat anomalous position occupied by Narbonne in thirteenth century Languedoc." The conclusion is that there were more heretics in the town than the numbers of prosecuwere more heretics in the town than the numbers of prosecutions for heresy would seem to indicate and that this is accounted for by the fact that, apart from the early activities of the Dominican Ferrier, the work of combatting heresy was left to the archbishops who were notoriously indifferent to their duties. Moreover the author finds that the destruction of the profit motive, as a result of controversy with some of the townsmen, and the desire of the archbishops to have the support of the citizens against the encroachments of the viscounts, made for less real on the part of the archbishops. Proof of the for less zeal on the part of the archbishops. Proof of the strength of heresy he finds in the number of prosecutions in the fourteenth century and in the fact that Narbonne was the chief centre of the Spiritual Franciscans.

Though these latter held a rigid doctrine of poverty that ought to have appealed to the large numbers of poor that are known to have existed at Narbonne there is no evidence to show that class lines had anything to do with the spread of heresy; the conclusion is that not social conditions but already existing heresy accounts in part for the religious peralready existing heresy accounts in part for the religious persecutions of the fourteenth century. Add to this the interest of John XXII in the suppression of the Spirituals and the economic motives of the king and his officials, and it becomes obvious that, had there been a French pope at Avignon in the thirteenth century and a Philip IV rather than a Louis IX on the throne, we undoubtedly would have heard of some thirteenth century Torquemada wallowing in the blood of the Narbonnese. It is an ingenious contention but it appears to this reviewer that the sins of the children are being visited upon the fathers to the third and fourth generation.

HERBERT H. COULSON.

American Political and Social History, by Harold U. Faulkner, 2nd ed. New York. Crofts. 1941. pp. xxv. +804. \$3.75

When the first edition of this work was reviewed in the November, 1937, number of the BULLETIN, it was pointed out that "in his delineation of the social and political factors, especially in the latter," the author is "patently lacking." Unfortunately, in his revision, Prof. Faulkner has not seen fit to modify his former treatment of this important phase of his subject. The first 626 pages of the text are substantially the same as in the previous edition. In the remaining pages of his subject. The first 626 pages of the text are substantially the same as in the previous edition. In the remaining pages the subject matter has been reworked to some extent and a final chapter added which carries the account down to the beginning of Roosevelt's third presidential term.

Teachers and students who have used the text of the first edition are well acquainted with both the merits and demerits of the volume. They will, however, find the rather ample additions to the general bibliography a gratifying and helpful feature of this second printing. E. H. KORTH.

A Brief Survey of Medieval Europe, by Carl Stephenson. New York. Harper. 1941. pp. xviii + 426. \$2.25

This book is a condensation of Professor Stephenson's larger Medieval History. In a prefatory note to this new work the author remarks: "For better or for worse, many colleges have now established an introductory course that, dealing with history in the large, has no use for a text of nearly eight hundred pages. For better or for worse, I have accordingly written a survey of the same period in less than four hundred pages."

The average college student, in quest of a nodding acquaintance with the history of the Middle Ages, cannot hope to cope with the wealth of material contained in the earlier Medieval History. The compilation of this smaller book, supported by ported by six more years of pedagogical experience, is sure to become popular among teachers and students. It contains all of the redeeming features of the larger book as well as a more readable text. The important paragraphs of each chapter more readable text. The important paragraphs of each chapter in the older book have been retained almost verbatim, but the remaining material has been more carefully integrated. The many maps, plates, genealogical tables and chronological charts, so conspicuous in the larger work, have not been omitted.

An objective treatment of historical facts is an outstanding characteristic of this book. The author displays a fine delicacy

in pointing out the good and bad qualities of great medieval statesmen, and he is not inclined to over-emphasize the importance of any particular event on subsequent ages. The completeness, accuracy, and brevity of this work assures it of a warm reception in all schools where only a limited amount of time can be given to a study of the Middle Ages.

R. R. McAuley.

Christian Attitude Towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century, by Kenneth M. Setton. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. 239. \$2.75

This book is of special value to the student of Roman Imperial History as well as to those interested in the perennial contest between Church and State. The author has chosen for special study the century in the course of which the status of Christianity changed from that of a proscribed religion to that of the state

The attitude of the Fathers toward the emperor is ascertained by a comparison of the titles of honor which they applied to the emperor both in his presence and in his absence. The author has gathered these titles from the speeches and letters of the various Fathers and is especially interested in noting the conscious avoidance by the Fathers of titles which were established by emperor worship.

established by emperor worship.

The struggles of Ambrose and Chrysostom with their contemporary emperors is well portrayed. The chapter on "Imperial Images" gives us a picture of the history and attitude of the "cultus" of images in the Roman Empire. Throughout the book the author makes use of the distinction between sacerdotium and imperium. The struggle between Church and State was the struggle in which the emperors sought to usurp the sacerdotium and the ecclesiastics sought to exercise the imperium. The book is well annotated. Attention should be called to the General Index and to the Titulorum Index et Potiorum Verbum in both Greek and Latin which greatly augment the serviceability of this work.

E. J. Kurth.

Democracy in the Middle West, 1840-1940, edited by Jeannette P. Nichols and James G. Randall. New York. Appleton-Century. 1941. pp. xiv + 117. \$1.00

This volume, the fifth in the Appleton-Century Historical Essays Series, consists of essays by five recognized authorities in the history of the American Middle West, with a preface by the editors and a foreword by the general editor, William E. Lingelbach. The essays were originally presented at the 1939 convention of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held at Memphis. They are mainly taken from a symposium on "The Changing Function of the Middle West in American Demogracy"

Following some pertinent preliminary remarks, William O. Lynch in a paper entitled "The Advance into the Middle West", discusses the question of the peopling of the Mississippi Valley. The remaining essays divide the period from 1840 to 1940 into three parts: Henry Clyde Hubbert writes on "Regionalism and Democracy in the Middle West, 1840-1865"; Jeannette P. Nichols deals with "Contradictory Trends in Middle Western Democracy, 1865-1900", while John D. Hicks comments on "Our Own Middle West, 1900-1940".

Due to the broad nature of the subject the essays are "sug-estive rather than definitive." They show how the West brought about much-needed reforms in American governmental adminabout much-needed reforms in American governmental administration without destroying the fundamental ideas on which American Democracy is established. The general conclusion is that the middle west has been the greatest stronghold of American Democracy. The writers do not follow the so-called "Turner Thesis," but rather seek to find out whether the people of the Mississippi Valley have devised means to preserve democracy, as Turner believed and hoped they would do. The essays are suggestive but frequently confusing due to a lack of common agreement on what is meant by democracy. Contrary to the opinion of the editors, this reviewer believes that a writer must establish, at least for himself, what he means by democracy before he can treat of democracy "with all its inhibitions, defects, and frustrations."

Charles J. Mehok.

We Hold These Truths, by Stuart Gerry Brown. New York. Harper. 1941. pp. vi + 351. \$1.25

This is a brief, specialized source book for American history, the specialty being democracy. The editor prefaces the forty-five significant statements on American democracy with a chapter in which he clearly defines what he means by democracy. Democracy is not to be confined to any particular party, nor to any certain time or place; it is the "method by which free men govern themselves."

It is quite obvious that this book was not written to supersede the general source books for American history. Some two-thirds of the selections included may be found in Henry Steel Commager's Documents of American History. Many of the other selections are of value primarily for one interested in the study of American democracy. The editor includes Andrew Jackson's "First Inaugural Address". Walt Whitman's "American Democracy", Robert M. LaFollette's "Free Speech in Wartime".

This volume may prove quite helpful to students of American history. However it should be remembered that every brief collection of documents on any point in history will necessarily be somewhat subjective. The editor has picked out what seems to him to be of particular interest and importance. Whether his selections are equally interesting and important to others is an open question.

George M. Pieper. is an open question.

A Survey of European Civilization, by Louis L. Snyder. Harrisburg, Pa. Stackpole. 1941. pp. xxi + 599. \$3.00

When the recurrent question of history textbooks is mooted, prudence dictates reserve. In view of the increasing number of new and revised editions that are flooding the market one hesitates to recommend any particular work without qualifying reservations. Few text books are entirely satisfactory; many are anything but satisfactory. Louis L. Snyder in his A Survey of European Civilization has tried to present in new form what of European Civilization has tried to present in new form what countless other professors of history have attempted, with varying success, in the past: "to give a simple, straightforward account of the development of European civilization from the beginnings of history to the end of the Middle Ages." It is to be noted that the title of the book is misleading on this point. One would expect the story to cover the entire field of European civilization and not terminate with the Middle Ages. The volume has the conventional qualities of similar texts plus the additional merit of attractiveness of format and texts, plus the additional merit of attractiveness of format and conception.

The treatment in general is fair and uncolored by the author's personal views and opinions. On certain points of Catholic doctrine, Professor Snyder is, however, obviously misinformed. To state that the Church taught that "all men are depraved because they inherited the Original Sin of Adam" (295) is manifestly false. The Church, i. e. the Catholic Church, never taught the depravity of mankind; she does teach that man was deprived as a result of Adam's fall. But to be deprived is essentially not the same as being depraved. The explanation of the Eucharist is also in conflict with Catholic doctrine. Says Prof. Snyder: "At the moment of eating the bread and drinking Prof. Snyder: "At the moment of eating the bread and drinking the wine, bread and wine were transformed by a miracle into the body and blood of Christ" (296). Every Catholic knows that the miracle of the Mass takes place at the Consecration, and not at the Communion.

The work is best considered as something of an amplified handbook, necessitating collateral reading by the student and interpretation and expansion of subject matter by the teacher. More interpretation of events and less quasi-indifference in presentation might well have been incorporated into the work. The book should serve as an acceptable running account of the main events in the periods treated. It is essentially an introductory text.

E. H. Korth.

Woman in the Sacred Scriptures of Hinduism, by Mildreth Worth Pinkham. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. xii + 239. \$2.75

Though the present status of women in India is not completely unknown, yet there are many aspects which certainly deserve greater attention and study. The modern Hindu woman is for most people something of a mental question mark, a condition which is due not least of all to the relatively small amount of scholarship that has been devoted to the subject. Occasional articles have been written touching on the deplorable condition of Hindi women, but rarely have positive remedies been proposed. The present work is an attempt along this line.

Many factors have contributed to the gradual improvement of the status of women in India, one of the most important of which has been the influence of religion. It is Dr. Pinkham's contention that a better understanding of the place assigned to women in the sacred scriptures of India would result in even greater moral and social uplift. This reviewer questions, however, the practical value of such a thesis. An improvement such as is desired, calls rather for a quasi-social revolu-

tion. The shackles of caste and of social and intellectual tradition that bind the Hindu woman will not be broken by a mere knowledge of sacred writings and the precepts contained therein. Moreover, judging from the citations offered, there is much in the scriptures themselves which tends to the social and moral enslavement of woman. Furthermore, how are Indian women to obtain this necessary knowledge of their sacred scriptures, limited as they are in their opportunities for education? These are problems which apparently militate against the solution advanced by the author.

Apart from the above notations, there is much of scholarly value in the work. The volume abounds with illuminating translations from the sacred writings and presents many interesting features of Hindu life and custom. A passing acquaintance with the documents herein cited is valuable, as a knowledge of some of the earliest extant European prose and verse is valuable. Scholars and research students will find the book of considerable practical utility. An extensive bibliography of the best translations of the Hindu Scriptures together with an impressive compilation of articles on Hinduism and Indian Womanhood add to the intrinsic merit of the work.

E. H. KORTH.

Economic History of Europe, by S. B. Clough and C. W. Cole. Boston. Heath. 1941. pp. xx + 841. \$4.00

This work is designed as a classroom text covering the whole period of European economic development from about 600 A. D. to the present time. Structurally and typographically the book is well conceived and should be an easy volume to work with for both teacher and student.

The content however is conventional and uninspired; even in those places, and they are numerous, where notice is taken of recent substantial work, the authors do not seem to appreciate the significance of these special studies for their larger general purpose. Minor errors abound as when the titles of Ricardo and Mill's work are incorrectly given, and the treatment of Las Casas, of usury and similar questions is in the best eighteenth century fashion.

B. W. Dempsey.

A Short History of Ancient Civilization, by Tom B. Jones. New York. Harper. 1941. pp. xiv + 376. \$2.25

From the prefaces of both the author and the editor we learn that this work is meant to be an analysis and synthesis of the civilization which ended with the fall of Rome, that it is to embody the results of the latest research, and that it is to deal mostly with the rise and fall of a civilization. If examined on the basis of these claims, this work would probably prove as disappointing to others as it has to the reviewer. The whole book lacks that unity of comprehension, depth of vision, and scholarly felicity of expression which one finds in the works of Cary, Frank, and Rostovtzeff. In places the book appears rather hastily thrown together, the "results of the latest research" still raw and undigested; and the last chapter, which is on the "Decline," contains some very rash statements (in the teeth of some of the latest research) coupled with a surprisingly superficial (for such a work) account of factors and processes.

Taken, however, as a short text for a one-semester course in ancient history, some teachers will probably like it. The first chapter is pure Darwinianism of an antiquated variety, but the rest of the book has its points for the college freshman or sophomore. However, it does appear to the reviewer that the majority of teachers will prefer a more standard and factual account, and reserve to themselves and their lectures the analysis, synthesis, and reasons for the decline and fall of Rome.

R. L. Porter.

Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783, by Alfred Barnaby Thomas. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 1941. pp. 273. \$3.00

To his growing list of excellently translated and edited documents pertaining to the colonial Southwest Dr. Thomas makes the present contribution. This document is the General Report for the year 1781, submitted by Don Teodoro de Croix, the first incumbent of the recently (1776) erected unit of frontier administration, the Commandancy-General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain.

During the eighteenth century it had become increasingly evident to the Spanish officials, both at home and in the Ameri-

can empire, that the far-flung frontier of the northern border-lands needed closer attention than the viceroy of New Spain, from his post in Mexico City, could give. Pressure from border Indians was intensified, and there were times when Spain's hold on the north seemed threatened. The so-called Rubi Inspection of 1766-1768 had given rise to an imposing survey of the frontier problems, and Rubi had made very definite recommendations. The Commandancy-General was devised, and Croix was entrusted with the position of superior. His report of 1781 is an extremely valuable document. Historians of the Southwest are grateful to Dr. Thomas for its translation and publication, and they are likewise appreciative for another one of his splendid "Historical Introductions" with which he prefaces his edition of the document. This last of itself is a contribution eminently worthwhile. All students of Spanish colonial history and of the past of the American Southwest will want this book.

The French Laic Laws, 1879-1889, by Evelyn M. Acomb. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. 282. \$3.50

France has had a long Catholic past. She has also had her Age of Reason and the Great Revolution, which repudiated Christian origins and preached a new evangel of liberty. During a century and more two Frances have existed side by side, reviling one another and producing history that was hopelessly partisan. Revolutionary France was crushed a year ago; a half-revived Catholic France now leads a precarious existence with its capital at Vichy. The radical triumph in the early years of the Third Republic was largely a French version of the Kulturkampf, in which the Catholics, for all their antiquated and obsolete royalist sympathy, were struggling for liberty and elementary human rights. The mantle of Bourbon absolutism was worn by the Liberal state. On the surface, the struggle has an interest all its own. It has a deeper significance as a chapter in the rise of state omnipotence with its attendant secularization of public life.

A Protestant author with an understanding for religious convictions and a desire to be fair has given us this factual study. Research conducted under the remote control of an eminent Catholic historian has led to a well-balanced portrayal of delicate controversial issues. By no means a full history of the period, the book does clarify the stages of a legislative program that eventually ended in a one-sided rescinding of the Napoleonic Concordat. Catholic education on all levels was badly wrecked, religious congregations were persecuted, army chaplains were reduced in number, clerics were forced to do military service, cemeteries were desecrated and divorce was legalized (which, incidentally, the author approves!) One can readily comprehend the sincerity of a few among the anticlericals, just as one is pained at the bungling of too many Catholics. But in the excesses of Nationalism and Etatism, the intolerant Liberals were running true to form.

R. Corrigan.

Characters of the Inquisition, by William Thomas Walsh. New York. P. J. Kennedy & Sons. 1940. pp. xiv + 302. \$3.00

No one book is going to settle men's views of this matter of the Inquisition; but until history's completely documented, final word has been written, Dr. Walsh's book presents about as fine a picture as one could ask of the forces at work and the deeds done, their why and wherefore.

To the ordinary man the inquisition is synonymous with and is limited to the Inquisition in Spain; this book will acquant him with its whole extent. And today's talk of "ideologies" and "fifth columns" will give him a ready means of appreciating the then existing state of affairs.

The story of the Inquisition is given through the work of several of its characters; in their parts in the matter are presented the various aspects of the story. A sort of introductory chapter, entitled "Moses," gives us the account of the treatment which God Himself ordered the leader of His chosen people to mete out to offenders against religion. In that work of Moses we see how a situation parallel to that which was faced by the Inquisition, was handled. In Moses' work there was stern, rigorous justice, but there was also a careful judicial process to determine guilt; the Inquisition, too, had both these elements.

In sketches of Pope Gregory IX, of Cardinal Ximenes, of Llorente, of Bernard Gui and of Nicholas Eymeric are portrayed the work of the Papacy, of the State, of criminal individuals who served their own ends, and of good men who labored well and honestly, though they sometimes made mistakes.

But the outstanding merit of the book is the general picture of the events that called forth the Inquisition and in the midst of which it did its work. The acquisition of that knowledge is ample profit from reading the book, and that general history contributes most to an understanding of the Inquisition.

J. E. CANTWELL.

Christopher Columbus, by Daniel Sargent. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1941. pp. vii + 214. \$2.50

The center of many a storm in life, Christopher Columbus has been the center of many controversies after death. Was he of Jewish origin? Why did he change his name to Colon instead of Jewish origin? Why did he change his name to Colon instead of Colom, or why did he change it at all? What of his private life? What kind of family man was he? In Daniel Sargent's study of America's discoverer the reader will find little about the private life of Columbus and nothing at all about his name and origin. For all that one must go to Salvador de Madariaga's biography. But if you wish a simple well-told story of the real life of Christopher Columbus, of the life that has significance for us of the twentieth century, then you would be well-advised to take up this little study of a great man by a master craftsman in words. For Daniel Sargent shaped out of the rough material of history a story full of interest and charm. The life-story of Columbus moves swiftly and without tiresome insistence on irrelevancies to the grand climax of the discovery and the anti-climax of the disgrace. of the discovery and the anti-climax of the disgrace.

When we said that the book is a work of art we did not mean thereby to imply that it is not also scientific history. It is. Christopher Columbus is carefully annotated and the whole work displays the critical spirit of the scholar as well as the eye for beauty of the artist.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER.

The History of Saint Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor, by Louis William Doll. Ann Arbor. Ann Arbor Press. 1941. pp. vi + 291. \$2.50

No historical record has more grandeur, self-sacrifice and achievement than that of the Church of Christ. Few historical records have such a surging, bewildering rapid growth as the United States of America during the past hundred years. The history of St. Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor, shares in a small way in both the self-sacrifice and achievement of the Catholic Church and in the surging growth of our country. Louis William Doll traces the history of the parish from the days when a few scattered Irish immigrants met every three months in "Mr. Horrigan's large room" for Mass, to 1940, the centennial of the arrival of Father Cullen as first resident pastor.

The author builds his account around the achievements of the successive pastors, and includes in his narrative many inspiring and not a few humorous anecdotes as well as interesting side-lights on politics, bigotry, effects of new inventions, and other leading problems of the times. The story is very detailed, well-documented and simply told. It will prove particularly interesting for the Catholics of Ann Arbor, but the amount of detail and failure to subordinate it certainly restrict the interest the work might have for a larger audience. On the other hand, the book is a good example of what would well be profitable and beneficial for other older parishes in the country and is, in its own way, a contribution to the larger history of the Catholic Church in America.

JEROME E. BREUNIG.

"Fightin' Joe" Wheeler, by John P. Dyer. Louisiana State University Press. 1941. pp. viii + 417. \$3.00

Joseph Wheeler, after serving as chief of cavalry in the Army of Tennessee, became successively a businessman, a planter-lawyer, a United States congressman, and finally a major general of Cavalry in the Spanish-American War.

of Cavalry in the Spanish-American war.

Diminutive in stature, his excess of energy made up for what he lacked in size. His modesty of deportment and his mild temperament were counterbalanced by a courage and fighting spirit on the battlefield that merited for him the name of Fightin' Joe. As a cadet at West Point he made his poorest grades in cavalry tactics; later as a cavalry officer in the Confederate Army he showed himself a master of tactics on the field and even wrote a book entitled Cavalry Tactics. He was the only Confederate officer to attain a similar rank later on in the United States army. on in the United States army.

Mr. Dyer has succeeded in combining scholarship with a lively, dramatic style. Fightin' Joe Wheeler is a worthy contribution to the Southern Biography Series. Once you have

begun reading the book you will not put it aside until you have finished. Especially interesting is the author's treatment of cavalry warfare and its development during the civil war.

URBAN J. KRAMER.

A History of Canada (Third Edition), by Carl Wittke. New York. Crofts. 1941. pp. xiii + 491. \$5.00

A most unusually satisfying volume; this is much more than a mere recital of facts; it unrolls the rich panorama of Canadian a mere recital of lacts; it unrolls the rich panorama of Canadian national life with the regularity and something of the brilliance of a movie. Figures of speech are of rare occurrence, but the student who cares to know what political Canada is—the government and the nation—and how it became what it is—will find no other one volume of a quarter million words, that will convey him such abundant information with greater fullness, precision and ease of expression.

The title explains the nature of the work but the word "political" might have been inserted, because both the human "political" might have been inserted, because both the human and the divine, the intimately personal or individual life and the religious features of the story are avoided. There is no picture of the pioneer in farm or mine; the long iron rails reach out their three thousand miles, without the sweat and groans of the human beasts of burden that laid these tracks; there is nothing, after the introduction, of the all-powerful religious vitality that glorifies Canada and blossomed forth in Shrine of St. Anne and the International Eucharistic Congress.

If this criticism could be prolonged, it would be just to call attention to not a few instances where Catholics and Americans will be provoked; but it is probable that ninety-nine percent of the positions taken by the author on difficult questions are correct, and consequently his occasional partisanship and even errors will seem venial errors will seem venial.

The next chapter of Canadian history will undoubtedly prove more enthralling than any of the many tragedies she has hitherto presented to the admiring gaze of men and angels. Dr. Wittke sees no villain in the first acts of this drama that are already on the stage, yet he prophesies that in the outcome state socialism is likely to be triumphant during the war and the reconstruction.

L. J. Kenny.

Stages on Life's Way, by Soren Kierkegaard. Translated by Walter Lowrie. Princeton University Press. 1940. pp. 465. \$6.00

Stages on Life's Way is a collection of three of the philosopher's stages on Life's Way is a collection of three of the philosopher's papers and two minor writings added in an appendix. All deal in a rather directly autobiographical fashion with the matter of love and marriage. They are characteristic of Kierkegaard in the gravity and dignity with which the subject is dealt and in the conviction that this is matter that is of the utmost importance for the integrity of the human personalways one of Kierkegaard's primary concerns.

This volume however should be not the first of his but

This volume however should be not the first of his but the last to be noticed in an historical journal, for it reveals so little of the historical importance of this nineteenth century anomaly who believed that the religious and theological rubbish with which the century abounded was due to the loss of the real distinction between essence and existence and to the fact that Christianity was professed by teachers and not by witnesses. For the historian, Kierkegaard as the anima naturaliter Christiana groping bravely and intelligently but unhappily through the nineteenth century is an instructive figure. B. W. Dempsey.

To be Reviewed in Our Next Issue:

History of Europe, by W. Eugene Shiels. Loyola University Press. \$2.00.

The Wild Seventies, by Dennis Tilden. Appleton Century. \$5.00. Hands Off: a History of the Monroe Doctrine, by Dexter Perkins. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

West of the River, by Dorothy Gardiner. Thos. Y. Crowell. \$3.50.

A History of Chile, by Luis Galdames. North Carolina Press.

War Chief Joseph, by Helen Addison Howard. Caxton. \$3.50. Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg, by Maurice G. Fulton. University of Oklahoma. \$3.50.

James Madison, by Irving Brant. Bobbs-Merrill. \$4.50. The Far East in Modern Times, by H. M. Vinacke. Crofts.

\$5.00. The United States and the Independence of Latin America, by Arthur Preston Whitaker. Johns Hopkins. \$3.75.

The British Empire, by Paul Knaplund. Harper. \$4.00.